

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1849.

ART. I. — THE SCIENTIFIC MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.*

IN 1847, the American Association of Geologists, a society of about six years' standing, voted to resolve itself into an "American Association for the Advancement of Science." The first meeting, under the new organization, was held at Philadelphia, in September, 1848; the second, at Cambridge, in August, 1849. The society now numbers rather more than five hundred members, — a sufficient proof that the movement which led to its formation was well-timed and judicious.

The Association proposes, by the reading and publication of papers containing the results of original investigations, positive additions to knowledge; also, by private intercourse, mutual communication and suggestion, to aid in the advancement of natural sciences, of physics, and mathematics. It already comprises in its list of members nearly all the scientific men of our country, and desires to unite with them the machinists, engineers, and other men who are making practical application of science. Thus, through the medium of this Association, it is hoped theory and practice may the more rapidly react upon each other, to the advantage of both.

The great number and variety of the papers offered at the late meeting in Cambridge would forbid any notice of their

* *Second Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cambridge, August 14 - 22, 1849. Reported for the Traveller, by H. M. PARKHURST.*

contents, even if they were upon themes appropriate to the pages of our journal. But we were so much interested in certain of the general questions repeatedly presented to the notice of the Association, and in the general spirit in which they were met and discussed, that we are disposed to speak of them somewhat at length.

There is doubtless lurking in many minds a distrust of human learning. The warning which Paul uttered against science, falsely so called, has been perverted to warn men against science itself. The reputation of France for infidelity, at the beginning of the century, being associated in many minds with her reputation for science, has given these perverted warnings an undue weight. Even in our own Commonwealth, a jealousy has manifested itself, springing up among the friends of religion, towards the intellectual culture of the common school; and fears have been seriously felt, and openly expressed, lest the development of the intellect might harden the heart.

To us there has always appeared to be a species of impious infidelity in all such fears; — as though God had not made us in harmony with his world and with his law! The healthful development of any power with which he has endowed us is in itself a fulfilment of his will, and cannot tend to alienate our hearts from him, or in any way render it more difficult for us to obey him. The only question will be, What is a healthful development of power? Creation is that elder Scripture, writ by God's own hand, in which his eternal power and divinity are clearly revealed. Shall we fear to read in this divine volume, lest thereby we lose our love of its Author? Surely the very fear shows we have not yet loved him with the whole heart and mind. "We ministers need," said one of our friends, in conversation on this point, "more study of theology, — more intellectual acquaintance with the thoughts of God as he manifests them in the laws of nature." And truly, as our friend implied, all study of nature is a study of natural theology, so that a student of science could with propriety be defined, in the quaint words of old John Dee, "He that seeketh (by St. Paul's advertisement) in the creature's properties and wonderful virtues to find just cause to glorify the eternal and almighty Creator by." For, as one of the deepest thinkers present at the late meeting has said, the only object of science is to discover the harmonies of creation; that is, in effect, to show the unity, wisdom,

and goodness of the Creator, by discovering the laws or thoughts according to which he planned the world.

The most rooted jealousy of science, as hostile to faith, must, we think, have been removed by a visit to the meeting at Cambridge, where were gathered nearly all the most devoted students of science in our own country, together with several from Europe, greatly distinguished for their attainments, and over whose deliberations there certainly reigned, not only a spirit of brotherhood, but a spirit of unaffected reverence towards Him whose works they study and whose laws they seek to unfold.

It is easy to see how the study of organism leads to faith. Indeed, the very name of organ implies creation by a will, guided by wisdom. The primal object in all physiological inquiries is to discover the purpose of the organ. So that not a step can be taken without a tacit acknowledgment of God. No greater error was perhaps committed by the reputed founder of inductive philosophy, than his sneering at this search for the final cause. All the finest discoveries of zoölogy and botany have been made by those who were guided by the principle which Lord Bacon thought useless in science, the principle that each part of an organic being is created for some specific use in the organism, and that in the knowledge of these purposed uses is contained a complete knowledge of the creature. Not otherwise than through the guidance of this principle could the wondrous work of restoring, from geological remains, the lost races of creatures on the earth have been brought to its present successful state. Through investigations into the purpose and harmony of parts has the marvellous unity of each creature been brought to light, — a unity so complete, that it is now no bold figure of speech to say, that we are “well able of the lion’s claw to conjecture his royal symmetrie and farther property” ; — since Agassiz, years ago, constructed from a single scale an unknown fish, and Owen, recently, from microscopic examination of a fragment of bone, discovered a new kind of birds, of which he has since received bones enough to establish several species. On no other principle, than that all parts of an animal are fitted together with infinite wisdom and perfect adaptation to its wants and destined situation, can the naturalist thus, even from the track of an unknown creature left imprinted upon the sand, decide with confidence its precise form and place in the rank of being, its food, and general habits of life.

Neither is it difficult to understand how other physical sciences suggest perpetually religious thought. For in all physical inquiries we go upon the assumption that there is a law, the guidance and control of a thought. Despite of Comte's assertion, that Science seeks only general forms of stating facts, we conceive the object of her search to be quite different. An empiric law frequently states facts with as much precision, as much generality, and as much brevity, as the true law, the law of the Creator's plan. Yet an empiric law never has satisfied the scientific mind. Kepler's three laws were no better than the rest of his hundred analogies, until Newton showed them to be the observed data from which the causal law of gravity can be deduced. Yet these laws embody all the sensible facts as completely and conveniently as Newton's law. The idea of the force of gravity, which constitutes the difference between this law and those of Kepler, and gives it power to satisfy the scientific mind, is not an idea of cause in Comte or Mill's sense, of an antecedent phenomenon, but in the true sense of efficiency, which they reject. And Kirkwood's newly-discovered analogy, binding together so many hitherto distinct facts, will suffer a like fate with Kepler's laws; it will be considered of little importance to know that the number of a planet's days in its year is proportioned to the square root of its sphere of attraction, until a new fact is discovered, not in outward, or what Comte calls positive, relations, but in the cause of this proportion, — that is, the manner in which the Creator effected its production, and the purpose for which he has established it.

It is a perception of the unity of thought, of the plan of the Creator, that alone satisfies the mind. Man himself builds upon the model of his ideas, and acts to effect a purpose, and he cannot, therefore, but look for the evidences of purpose and plan in the world. In this search he is successful. The unity of the stellar creation has been shown by the obedience of the binary stars to the law of gravity. That the world of animated things sprang from the same creative will that formed the earth is shown, as by many other facts, so by one recently alluded to in this journal,* — the present obliquity of the ecliptic. A diminution of obliquity would burn the equator with fiercer heat, and draw down a frigid climate upon the northern part of the temperate zone. An

* Vol. XII. p. 102.

increase of obliquity would carry frosts into southern regions, and, on the other hand, increase greatly the heat of northern summers. It would only require an obliquity of forty degrees to destroy all tropical plants by frost, and all of the northern countries by intense summer heat. Similar adaptations of the world to animated things are to be found at every step of our way in chemistry, geology, optics, acoustics, electricity, and other studies in unorganized matter.

But the religious leading of science is nowhere more strongly manifested than in the department, where a superficial thinker would least expect it, of pure mathematics. The laws of space and time are suggested to the mathematician, in the first place, by the phenomena of nature. Again, when he has discovered a beautiful law, he endeavours to illustrate it by sensible figures, diagrams, or experiments. The next train of thought naturally leads him to consider, in all cases, the phenomena of nature as the illustrations of a mathematical idea. Hence the study of abstract law becomes venerable, leading us to a perception of the great thoughts of God, which he has illustrated, for our learning, in the phenomena of creation. Never has this train of thought greater power over us than when we discover that two independent phenomena, one perhaps manifested only in space, the other in time, — one static, the other dynamic, — are both embodiments of the same algebraic thought. The forms of flowers and of growing plants, for instance, are constantly expressible by formulas, in which enter some one of the approximations to a certain fraction. The ratio of the times of revolution of two adjacent planets is, likewise, always nearly one of these approximations, saving the ratios in which the earth's year enters. Yet what connection can we trace between the arrangement of buds on a plant, and the harmony of revolutions in the planets? None, except this connection in the arithmetical law, — a connection sufficient, however, if it be perfect, to show that One Mind created the heavens and the earth.

This argument, developed by Professor Peirce at the Cambridge meeting, is so forcible in its nature, and so curious in its illustrations, that we shall, perhaps, be justified in restating it in fuller form.

If on any twig of a cherry-tree we count the leaves from the bottom upwards, we shall find that the sixth leaf is over the first, the seventh over the second, &c. That is, two

successive leaves, viewed from above, make an angle with each other equal to two fifths of a circle, and it requires five such intervals to make two complete revolutions. On a twig of elm, the third leaf is over the first ; or the angle between two successive leaves, viewed from above, is half a circle. In the currant, the angle is usually three eighths ; that is, eight leaves are required to make three turns, and the ninth leaf is over the first. The angle which two successive leaves, viewed from above, make with each other, in any plant, is generally found to be one of the following series of fractions of a circumference : —

$$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{2}{5}, \frac{3}{8}, \frac{5}{13}, \frac{8}{21}, \frac{13}{34}, \frac{21}{55}, \frac{34}{89}, \frac{55}{144}, \text{ \&c.}$$

Sometimes, however, this angle is one of the following : — $\frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}, \frac{2}{7}, \frac{3}{14}, \text{ \&c.}$; and occasionally we have found, in the golden-rod, fractions of the series, $\frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{2}{7}, \frac{3}{11}, \text{ \&c.}$ Other fractions are found, but we believe that, in a healthy plant, the fractions always belong to a similar series ; that is, to a series in which the first two fractions have the numerators each 1, and the denominators differing by 1, and the terms of any other fraction are formed by adding those of the two preceding. Such a series approximates, the higher it is carried, more and more nearly to an aliquot part of the difference between the square root of five, and some odd number. The first series we have given, which is by far the most common, consists of the successive approximations to $\frac{1}{2}(3 - \sqrt{5})$.

Now if we divide the year of Uranus by that of Neptune, the year of Saturn by that of Uranus, that of Jupiter by that of Saturn, &c., we shall obtain nearly the following fractions : —

$$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{107}{305}, \frac{21}{52}, \frac{32}{85}, \frac{53}{131}, \frac{17}{32}, \frac{8}{13}, \frac{22}{57}.$$

The close coincidence of these fractions with the successive approximations of the common series for leaves is rendered still more significant by the fact, that one of those two which differ most from the common series, namely, the ratio between Venus's year and the Earth's, is one of a series which, in vegetable life, cannot be distinguished from the common, except by the spiral running in the opposite direction ; the series, namely, beginning with $\frac{1}{1}, \frac{1}{2}, \frac{2}{3}, \frac{3}{5}, \frac{5}{8}, \frac{8}{13}, \text{ \&c.}$ The year of Venus differs by only about one hour and a half from $\frac{8}{13}$ of the Earth's.

Among the periods of Jupiter's moons, also, we find three

ratios, among those of Saturn six, among those of Herschel four, which are nearly approximations in these series. They do not, however, follow the proper order of approximation as they approach the primary planet.

Here, then, are two problems, one in astronomy, the other in botany, and both solved by the same arithmetical law. The botanical problem is, to distribute the leaves, buds, petals, &c., of plants in such wise as to secure a graceful variety of symmetry. The astronomical problem is, to proportion the years of the planets in such wise, as to render the conjunction of any considerable number a rare occurrence; to secure, that is, the system from too great mutual interference, by keeping the planets scattered round the sun. This is done by making the years incommensurable, and nearly in the ratio which is measured by approximations to an aliquot part of the difference between some odd number and the square root of five. The botanical problem is solved by setting the leaves at an angle, which is to the whole circle in a ratio measured by the same approximations. And in both cases, the odd number usually employed is 3, and the aliquot part is one half.

Now, notwithstanding the nonconformity of the ratio between the Earth's year and that of Mars to this rule, we cannot refuse to see, in the general facts, evidence that One Mind built the heavens and the plants, and has, in these two different modes, in time and in forms, illustrated these peculiar fractions, as if to call men's attention to their beauty and usefulness. Nay, inasmuch as we have in nature only approximate values to an incommensurable quantity, and as we find closer approximations in the flower than in the green leaf, and in the planets near the sun than in those remote, may we not suppose that there is hidden in the surd itself (the square root of five) some infinite and inexpressible beauty, of which we shall learn more and more, as we become more and more conversant with the thoughts of the Creator?

A similar argument may be drawn from the identity of the equation of the motions of a pendulum with that of the forms of an elastic line, when we suppose that the force required to bend the line is directly proportioned to the angle it makes with its position in its state of rest. We cannot suppose this law of elasticity is a necessary law, yet we find it has actually been adopted, as if to lead us to see the variety of applications of which this equation is capable; and who

shall say whether this is not for the purpose of leading men, at some future day, to new applications of the law ?

Men have always sought to apply geometric and algebraic forms (discovered by those who sought for truth in the pure love of it, for its own sake) to the arts of life. So great has been their success, that the whole aspect of civilized life has thus been changed. The contempt of Dr. Johnson, and the satire of Swift, seem at the present day to have been strangely misdirected. Literature now brings offerings of quite another kind to the shrines of Science, and glows into eloquence and song at the mention of the triumph of men over waves and winds, space and time, obstacles and hindrances. The mathematics have extorted for themselves, from all tongues, the acknowledgment that they are the key of Nature, by which alone we can gain access to her treasures. But geometry has a higher function to perform than measuring the earth, and algebra than numbering the earth's fruit. The lovers of these sciences have ever found in them a mathesis, a learning, of all things, spiritual and natural. In all the great laws of the mathematics, we find clear enunciations of the laws of other sciences. As their own formulas are, as we have just shown, sometimes illustrated in two distinct and diverse phenomena, so the great principles which govern the formation of these formulas are frequently applicable to things very foreign from all questions of quantity or measurement. Among the principles thus applicable to all departments of thought and action, but usually confined to mathematics, we may instance, from algebra, that, to have a determinate result, we must have as many conditions as we have variable elements ; from geometry, that the same mode of reasoning is not equally adapted to all subjects ; and from the calculus, that a complete solution of a question is oftentimes not so useful for practical application as a partial definite solution. But it is the true use of all learning to bring us into a nearer communion with the Author of all things, and it is the high office of the mathematics to show us the pattern, the image or form, by which he created each thing. "All things," says Boethius, "which have been formed from primeval laws, seem formed in the ratio of numbers. For this was the principal pattern in the mind of the Creator." So that, says a commentator on Euclid, it is "the chief glory of Geometry, that it loyters not, or employes it self about these inferiour ma-

chines, from whence it had its original, but hath soared up into Heaven, and resettled human minds, (grovelling before in the dust,) in celestial seats, and hath capacitated us to the understanding both of this whole fabric of the world, and the administration and government thereof."

We have been led to speak, in general terms, of the religious influence of natural history, physics, and mathematics ; but we wish, also, distinctly to affirm, that we consider that the modern history of these sciences affords proof, as unequivocally as the ancient, of the real effect of their influence upon their students. The atheism, which at one time appeared in men of scientific attainment, existed in spite of their knowledge, not in consequence of it. But it is now manifest that no man can make any great advance in any of the sciences, unless he be of a devout, or at least a reverent, spirit, — unless he proceed upon the assumption, that all created things were made according to one comprehensive and infinitely wise plan, in furtherance of one great object, in development of one great idea, to be reverently studied in history, in natural history, and in physics ; and that it is the main purpose of mathematical learning to understand and express this idea, so far as it is a function of space and time.

There was also perceptible at the Cambridge meeting an influence of science upon philosophy which it was pleasant to behold, as a promise of future reconciliation between the great opposing parties of all times. Ever since the days of Plato and his pupil, Aristotle, there has been, as every one knows, a great line of separation between Sensationalists and Transcendentalists, called by various names, and holding various doctrines. That is, there have been some whose whole philosophy seemed based on the assumption, that sensations are the only sources of knowledge ; others, who have also assumed the existence of ideas in the mind, independent of all sensation. The history of modern physical science proves that both these schools are right, and both are wrong. In behalf of the Sensationalist it proves, that the observation of nature is the only basis of knowledge. It even defies all the imagination and fancy of genius to invent any hypothetical phenomenon, save by the combination of known appearances. Yet it frequently discovers new phenomena existent, and not reducible to those already known. Thus it shows the senses to be the avenues of knowledge, leading to new wonders and arts, where fancy and imagination and reason were

powerless. At the same time, in behalf of the Transcendentalist, modern science proves, that men can elicit new truths of relation by the comparison of hypothetical cases. The history of astronomy and optics is full of instances, wherein a bold hypothesis has, in its verification, led to the discovery of hidden physical facts. And the really transcendental nature of this element of knowledge, the inability of mere observation and reason to furnish it, is amply shown by the vast difference between different men of the same powers of perception and judgment. Let them each make the same experiment, or witness the same occurrence, and the knowledge gained by each will be very different, both in amount and character. Every looker-on, at the late scientific meeting, must have been convinced, that each of the leading spirits there had peculiar gifts for his peculiar works. Those gifts consisted in a clearness of conceiving certain ideas, a clearness in comprehending God's thoughts, as they are expressed in certain departments of creation. Reason as we will concerning the origin of our knowledge, it remains an acknowledged fact, that a phenomenon of nature cannot give us ideas, — it can only suggest or awaken them; but, at the same time, these ideas can be awakened only by the phenomenon. We therefore repeat it, — by the history of modern science are Sensationalist and Transcendentalist taught each to respect the other's doctrine, and to acknowledge the utility of the other's methods.

The absurdity of *a priori* decisions upon the facts of nature is abundantly shown by the superior fruitfulness of modern science over that of book and syllogism naturalists; the infinite utility of *a priori* investigations as guides to observation is shown by the history of many discoveries in the same sciences and arts, from Galileo's reinvention of the telescope to Galle's finding of Neptune, from Columbus's discovery of America to Owen's rebuilding of the New Zealand moa.

Hence, also, will the course of liberal education become greatly modified by this change in the state of human philosophy and logic. The dryness of detail in every branch of study will be relieved by making more manifest to the pupil the connection of each subject with the great plan of God's government, and man's duty. The aversion which many learners feel towards all things now taught in schools will be avoided, by introducing into the course of instruction such branches as suit the natural tastes of all, and give each an

opportunity to exercise his special powers. As the sciences begin more powerfully to assert their claim upon the attention of men, it will be perceived that the objects of primary education are not attained when we have taught the child his mother tongue, the application of arithmetic to money-getting, and of geography to commerce ; neither are the objects of a collegiate course attained when the student has added to his English grammar some knowledge of other tongues, to his arithmetic a little of other mathematics, and to all a little drilling upon logic and rhetoric. In proportion as "the advancement of science" is made an object of care, we shall naturally seek to cultivate in our children habits and powers of observation and reasoning. Neither of these were taught in our old common-school system. Even now, there are few means employed to cultivate the perceptive powers ; it seems to be forgotten, by those in charge of our schools, that, before we reason, we must have facts to reason upon. Colburn's *First Lessons* is undoubtedly one of the best of all possible school-books ; yet, in the hands of many teachers, it becomes an occasion of great injury to the scholar. In developing the reasoning power of children at the age of ten or twelve, it succeeds beyond all praise ; but when the scholar begins to study it at the age of six or seven, and when all the other teaching in the school is modelled on the same plan, what can we expect of the child, but that he will become confused and bewildered by attempting to imitate its severe introspective analysis, wearied and disgusted with study, and thus grow up without learning even to reason ? As to observation, there is no pretence of cultivating the eye or ear, except through the alphabet and perchance a few maps. But when the advancement of science shall have more effectually convinced the world of the importance of studying the works of the all-wise Builder of the universe, it will be seen that the eye is the first thing to be educated. The first indication of intellect that the infant gives is in tracing with its eye the outline of things ; the second is in the recognition of objects which it has before seen. Does not Nature herself thus teach us that geometry and natural history are the proper branches of learning for the young child ? Children can ordinarily be taught to name all the plants of common occurrence in their neighbourhood, to tell all the most common birds, and even insects, and to recognize them all in drawings, before they can by any painstaking be taught to count twenty. The

fondness of a child for flowers and birds, for animals, for pictures and music, is proverbial. Yet, instead of following this plain intimation of Nature, we teach it to consider interest in the works of God childish, and shut it up in a close room, out of the sight of natural objects, to study the multiplication-table, or learn to compute interest on notes of hand. Arithmetic is made to fill the place of all other sciences, or serve as the foundation of all ; for neither of which offices is it well adapted. It probably occupies this prominent place from being considered the most practically useful science. But it enjoys this reputation undeservedly. While arithmetic is applicable only to direct questions of numbers, and may all be comprehended in about a dozen rules, geometry, through its culture of the eye and judgment, botany and zoölogy, through their exercise of the powers of observation and comparison, benefit the scholar in every possible department of life, mechanical, agricultural, or commercial. Even upon the narrow ground of utility, therefore, must the present course of education be changed. Physical sciences must come before mathematical, and geometry before arithmetic. Taking a higher view of education, as preparing a child of man to live as a child of God, it becomes still more evident, that the first intellectual training should aim to form the habit of listening to the word of God by which all things are created. As to the question of choice among physical sciences, the order of nature gives safe indications. First teach a child concerning those things in which he is interested. This brings zoölogy, botany, music, and geometry first in the order of time. And these may well occupy all the study hours, (which should be few,) in the first three years of schooling. Daily singing, and instruction in the art of distinguishing birds and insects by their notes, might constitute, at first, the musical tuition. The names of plants, grouped in natural families, illustrated by good drawings, and in summer by fresh specimens, with simple lessons upon the characters of the families and the physiology of vegetation, would constitute the botanical course. The instruction in zoölogy might be the same. In geometry, the "Introduction translated from Prussian Text-Books" affords excellent models for teachers. We would also include elementary drawing of outlines. Three years spent in this way, say from the age of five to eight, would prepare the scholar with a basis of facts for future reasoning, and he would enter with more un-

derstanding and ability upon the abstractions of arithmetic and grammar, and the sweeping generalities of geography. The last-named study would be rendered especially interesting, after such a preparation for understanding something of the plants and animals of foreign lands. We are aware that the change from the present course of study in the primary schools to that which we have now marked out, is not likely to be speedily made. Nevertheless, there have been, of late years, some approaches towards it. Music and drawing, and elementary geometry, have been introduced in many schools with great success. Botany and zoölogy ought to follow, and, doubtless, at some day will. Out of them natural theology must flow, as from a fountain.

Holding these views, we thought, while attending the late meeting in Cambridge, that we saw in several of the general questions, and in the spirit in which they were discussed, the promise of a new and happy influence from science upon our education, philosophy, and faith.

T. H.

ART. II. — MISS MARTINEAU'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.*

MISS MARTINEAU is a practised writer. She has already written tales, essays, theological and political disquisitions, books of travel, and treatises on household education; and now appears as the historian of her own times. Although she does not take very high rank as an historian, and sometimes pronounces her opinions with a degree of emphasis not quite becoming in one of her sex, her book possesses great merits, and is in general impartial and trustworthy. Her narrative is full, clear, and exact; her philosophical observations and reflections are in the main sound and just; and her characters of the prominent actors are, with few exceptions, skilfully delineated. Still, she has not the uncompromising impartiality of Hallam, the broad, philosophical grasp of Guizot, nor the unequalled erudition of Macaulay, always at home on every subject, and illustrating his views by curious

* *The History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace: 1816 - 1846.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight. 1849. 4to pp. 599.

facts drawn from every department of literature, and from the history of every age and nation. She writes plainly, but forcibly ; and confines herself to the subject before her. Her references to her authorities are full and minute ; and they are always to valuable and reliable works. Only about three quarters of the present volume, however, are from her pen. The first book, which contains a narrative of the events from the signing of the Peace of Paris to the accession of George the Fourth, was mostly written by Mr. Charles Knight, the publisher, and printed in 1846. Circumstances compelling him to relinquish the undertaking, he invited Miss Martineau to resume the work where his labors were interrupted, and to carry it forward to its completion. In the part now published, the narrative is brought down to the death of the king. The portion for which Mr. Knight is responsible is respectably written ; but its chief merit is its impartiality ; and we see no reason to regret that the work has fallen into female hands.

The definitive articles of peace were settled at Paris, on the 20th of November, 1815 ; and the British statesmen could at last turn their attention more directly to the condition of their own country than they had been able to do since the breaking out of the American war. A new generation had sprung up since that event. Mansfield, the elder and the younger Pitt, and Fox, had been borne to their final resting-places in Westminster Abbey. Thurlow, Dundas, and Windham were no more. Burke, too, had been dead for eighteen years ; and it seemed as if the age of great men had passed. Those who remained — Lords Sidmouth, Liverpool, Castlereagh, Eldon, and Holland, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Wilberforce — were all men of lesser mark. Sheridan had lost his seat in Parliament, was now almost forgotten, and died in extreme destitution a few months after. The Duke of Wellington had won for himself a place among the ablest warriors of Europe ; but as yet he was innocent of political ambition, and ridiculed the idea of being minister. Nor had Peel yet greatly distinguished himself as a politician, or fairly commenced his strangely inconsistent career. Of those who most readily reminded one of the age of Pitt and Fox, Erskine had obtained a great reputation as an orator and a lawyer, and had, for a short time, held the chancellorship, but he was advanced in life, and only survived the peace about eight years ; Grey had enjoyed the friendship of

Fox, had opened the way for future renown by his brilliant exertions at the trial of Warren Hastings, — of whose impeachment he had been junior manager, — and his name was destined to be indissolubly connected with the passage of the Reform Bill ; Canning had long been the disciple and follower of Pitt, but was soon to be known as an independent party leader, and, cutting adrift from the policy of his master in statesmanship, to become almost as famous for his devotion to peace as that minister had been for his management of the war ; Brougham was in the vigor of manhood, endowed with a mind of singular versatility, and, with great power of invective and sarcasm, was to make himself admired throughout the civilized world by his eloquent defence of a wronged and cheated wife, and to lay the foundation for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the common people. George the Third was still nominally king ; but he had been insane for many years, and for the last five years had hardly enjoyed a lucid interval. Consequently, the whole of the regal power was wielded by the Prince of Wales, acting as prince regent. He was almost entirely devoid of political and moral principle, and with not a very clear understanding of the distinctions of right and wrong. His whole life had been an uninterrupted course of profligacy and vice. Under a false promise of marriage, he had destroyed the virtue of Mrs. Fitzherbert ; and, on the very night of his marriage with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, he had reeled into the bridal chamber in a state of beastly intoxication. In his early manhood he had indulged in a factious opposition to his father's government, hardly less violent and reckless than the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's administration, headed by his grandfather, half a century before. He had professed an ardent devotion to Whig principles, and zealously advocated Whig measures. Carlton House had been the principal resort of the Whig leaders, and had blazed with a triumphal illumination when Fox carried the Westminster election. There the Whigs had long been in the habit of arranging and maturing their plans for securing the success of liberal measures. But as soon as he found himself in the full and quiet possession of power, he threw himself into the arms of the Tories, and, forgetting all that he had before said or done, thought only of perpetuating that Tory ascendancy which had lasted almost unbroken since the accession of George the Third. Yet he was a man of talent and ability. No

one of his family who had been in England, with the exception of his great-grandmother, the wife of George the Second, it is believed, had such an intimate acquaintance with affairs, or exhibited so much skill in their management, as he did, although George the Third knew more of the daily routine of official duties in the different departments than either. Inheriting the obstinacy and wilfulness of his family, he possessed a clear mind, but was cold and heartless in all his transactions. Such were the men who were now to have the conduct of affairs in England.

Great questions demanded their attention. By the Peace of Paris, England had gained the object which the younger Pitt had had most at heart. French democratic principles were crushed, and the elder branch of the Bourbon family had been imposed on the French people at the point of the bayonet, and was upheld by the cannon of the allied forces. Bonaparte was an exile on a distant island in the midst of the ocean, and nearly all of his puppet kings had been dethroned. The arms of England had triumphed, but her treasury was wellnigh bankrupt. Pitt had lavished money with an unsparing hand, and had entailed an enormous debt on future generations. The people were restless and unsatisfied. They could no longer read the bulletins recording victories at sea and on the land, by which they had so long been delighted; and they, too, turned their attention to their own condition. Gigantic social evils, long-cherished abuses, financial ruin, stared them in the face. They demanded Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, a relaxation of the commercial restrictions, Parliamentary Reform; and one by one their demands were granted. Within the next thirty years, the whole financial, commercial, and representative systems of the country were changed. But these changes were not effected without violent opposition and repeated failures. Many of the questions are still fiercely debated, and many of the facts as fiercely contested. Nor have Tory writers and Tory orators yet wearied of ascribing every possible evil to the passage of the Reform Bill. Even so respectable an historian as Lord Mahon lets no opportunity slip of uttering a sad lament over that event which struck a death-blow at prescriptive injustice and corruption. Writers like Mr. Croker, who led the forlorn hope of Tory opposition when abler men wisely withdrew from the contest, still repeat their rhetorical commonplaces as confidently as if their

absurdity had not once and again been demonstrated, and still cherish the angry passions which were then excited. It is through such a tract of history, where party rancour is stirred at almost every step, that Miss Martineau has to trace her course. It is no small praise, that she so seldom deviates from the path of strict impartiality and equal justice between the two great parties.

After the assassination of Mr. Perceval, in May, 1812, some delay had been experienced in arranging a new cabinet ; but at length a ministry had been formed under Lord Liverpool, which was still in office when peace was concluded. Although it possessed only an average amount of talent, it numbered among its members several statesmen who have contrived to fill a large space in contemporary history. The place-loving Lord Eldon, the most obstinate and bigoted of modern Tories, held the chancellorship. Lord Sidmouth had the home department, — a man with so few of the qualities of an eminent statesman, that Fox had not scrupled to say of him, when he succeeded Pitt as premier, “My Lord Salisbury would make a better minister, only that he is wanted as court dancing-master.” The feeble and inefficient Lord Bathurst was in the colonial office. Lord Castlereagh was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and ministerial leader in the House of Commons. The character of this nobleman has been well drawn by Lord Brougham, in his *Sketches of Statesmen in the Time of George the Third*. “Few men,” says that bitter and sarcastic writer, “of more limited capacity or more meagre acquirements than Lord Castlereagh possessed, had, before his time, ever risen to any station of eminence in our free country ; fewer still have long retained it in a state where mere court intrigue and princely favor have so little to do with men’s advancement. But we have lived to see men of more obscure merit than Lord Castlereagh rise to equal station in this country. Of sober and industrious habits, and become possessed of business-like talents by long experience, he was a person of the most commonplace abilities. He had a reasonable quickness of apprehension, and clearness of understanding ; but nothing brilliant or in any way admirable marked either his conceptions or his elocution.” Nicholas Vansittart, an honest man, but in no other respect differing from the common herd of official personages, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The present Lord Palmerston, then known as a Tory, but now a member of a Whig ad-

ministration, was Secretary of War. The younger Robert Peel was Principal Secretary for Ireland. In the House of Lords, the Opposition was broken up into various little *squads*, respectively acknowledging the leadership of Lords Grey, Grenville, and Holland. In the House of Commons it was more concentrated, and was headed by Tierney, Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly, and others ; but its acknowledged leader was George Ponsonby, an Irish gentleman of very moderate talents, whose chief importance arose from the position which he held.

As a matter of course, the Opposition condemned the peace, and not without reason. England had borne nearly all the expenses of the war, but she gained no adequate advantage from the peace in return for all her exertions and subsidies. Her territorial limits were unchanged, and no increased privileges of trade had been acquired. She had obtained no indemnity for the past, and no prospective benefits. In truth, the peace negotiated by Lord Castlereagh was scarcely more glorious than the peace patched up by the Addington administration, in 1802. A continuance of the war was, indeed, to be deprecated, but the national honor and the national interest were unnecessarily sacrificed in the negotiations. The ministerial address, however, was carried in both Houses by considerable majorities. But the ministers were less successful in their attempts to keep the taxes up to the war standard, and were beaten in several divisions. The general distress among all classes increased the disaffection created by the unsatisfactory character of the peace, and led to riotous assemblages and mobs in various places, which were only put down by force. Clubs were formed all over the kingdom, having a common head in London ; petitions were poured into Parliament ; and night after night the Opposition leaders attacked the ministers. Cobbett, too, fanned the excitement by his violent publications, which were scattered broadcast over the land. This noted demagogue seems to have succeeded to Wilkes's place, and was at this time a sort of popular oracle ; but the true friends of reform felt little regard for him or his noisy supporters. They labored quietly, but faithfully, in spite of the brawling partisans of anarchy with whom they were sometimes confounded. At this time there was, according to Mr. Tooke, in his *History of Prices*, "a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of

losses and failures among the agricultural, and commercial, and manufacturing, and mining, and shipping, and building interests, which marked that period as one of most extensive suffering and distress." Under such circumstances, wise and moderate counsels were not likely to prevail. Nor did they.

Previously to the outbreak at Manchester, there were insurrectionary movements in various places in the agricultural and manufacturing districts; but they were put down with little difficulty, and several of their participants were executed. The resolute, but arbitrary and tyrannical, proceedings of Lord Sidmouth alarmed the mob leaders, and Cobbeſt fled to this country, leaving to others the conduct of a cause which he had only injured by his violence. Yet the spirit of discontent continued as strong as ever. Early in December, 1817, the famous trials of William Hone, an obscure London bookseller, for the publication of "blasphemous and seditious libels" on the government, took place. He was tried on three separate charges, and his trials occupied as many consecutive days. He managed his own defence, and with so much skill, that, in spite of extraordinary exertions on the part of the government, he was acquitted on each trial. On the second trial, the Lord Chief Justice, Ellenborough, so far forgot the dignity of his office as to declare, "He would deliver the jury his solemn opinion, as he was required by act of Parliament to do; and under the authority of that act, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most infamous and profane libel. Believing and hoping that they, the jury, were Christians, he had not any doubt but that they would be of the same opinion." Hone's three acquittals caused great and general satisfaction, and for some time afterwards the country remained quiet and orderly. But this calm was at length broken by the imbecile proceedings of the Manchester magistrates, which raised the popular discontent to a state of feverish excitement, and led to what Lord Campbell calls "the latest violation of our free constitution, and, I believe, the last."

A meeting, for the purpose of adopting a plan of Parliamentary reform, had been called to assemble in St. Peter's Field, at Manchester, on the 16th of August, 1819. On the morning of that day, people came pouring in from the neighbouring parishes, and at an early hour the ground was

occupied by a multitude of all ages and both sexes, to the number of about eighty thousand persons. The meeting was peaceably organized by the appointment, as chairman, of Henry Hunt, a well-known demagogue, of burly form, strong lungs, unsurpassed impudence, and great volubility of language. Hunt had hardly commenced his opening harangue, when an attack was made on the congregated mass, without any previous notice, by a body of cavalry, acting under the direction of the magistrates. Men, women, and children were alike involved in the attack, and were alike trodden under foot. The field was cleared within ten minutes, but the ground was strown with the dead and wounded. Vulgar-minded persons called this the Battle of Peterloo, or the Manchester Massacre. Moderate men were more judicious, but not less severe, in their comments. The Whigs offered no apologies for the illegal acts of the Radicals, but they sharply and justly criticized the course pursued by the magistrates, who were, on the other hand, zealously supported by Lord Sidmouth and his ministerial associates. That the meeting was in itself illegal does not admit of a doubt; but the pusillanimous conduct of the magistrates is none the less reprehensible on that account. Their duty was perfectly plain and simple. They should have forbidden the meeting, and prevented its assembling, by the employment of a sufficient number of special policemen, or by calling in the military, if necessary. Instead of taking a resolute course, they appear to have adopted no settled plan of action. They allowed the multitude to assemble without a prohibition. They ordered an attack upon it without a warning. They attempted to arrest the leaders without the proper means, and when they must have known that the attempt could not succeed. The result was the death and maiming of a number of innocent persons, who were sacrificed by the ignorance and incompetency of the magistracy. Public indignation was deeply stirred throughout the country, but to little effect. Ministers summoned Parliament, and, after violent and protracted opposition, succeeded in getting through both Houses a series of unconstitutional measures, known as the Six Acts, and designed to give an almost unlimited power to the government.

The public mind had hardly become calm again after these events, when the death of George the Third gave birth to a new cause of excitement. There had been bitter personal

quarrels among the members of the reigning family in every generation since George the First came over from Germany, equally ignorant of the character, institutions, and language of the people he was to govern. The new king had married as far back as 1795, but he very soon quarrelled with his wife, separated from her, and heaped every sort of insult and injury upon her. She was now living on the Continent, closely watched by the pensioned spies of her husband. No sooner, however, did she hear of the death of her father-in-law, than she made immediate preparations to return to England, and make good her claims as wife and queen. This determination filled the king with alarm, and was hardly less fraught with difficulty and danger for the ministry. They were exceedingly unwilling to follow the directions of his Majesty, but any resistance would inevitably have caused their dismissal. Most of the Tories had heretofore taken the part of the unfortunate princess, and faithfully served her. Lord Eldon and Mr. Canning, in particular, had been among her most devoted friends and ablest counsellors. Now, things were changed. It was for their interest to support the king; and the greater part of them decided to adopt that line of policy. The Whigs, on the contrary, had upheld the Prince so long as he continued a member of their party; but when he deserted them, many felt inclined to take up the cause of his wife. The great majority, however, determined to take no part in the struggle, and remained indifferent spectators, or only occasional actors.

While matters were in this state, ministers were nearly frightened from their propriety by the discovery of what seemed a more pressing danger. This was an abortive and contemptible plot for their assassination, which has been dignified by the name of the Cato Street Conspiracy. Care was taken to magnify the importance of the discovery; and at last timid men and old women began to believe that the designs of the conspirators embraced nothing less than the burning and sacking of London, and a complete overthrow of the government. It was with the accounts of this plot as it had been with the accounts of the Popish Plot a hundred and forty years before, —

“Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies.”

The plot was doubtless bad enough, but it was represented as much worse than it really was. The facts in the case were simply these. A small number of butchers, shoe-

makers, tailors, and persons in similar walks of life, headed by one Thistlewood, a released convict, had formed a notable scheme for cutting off the heads of the ministers, and carrying them away in bags, on occasion of a cabinet dinner to be given by Lord Harrowby. Information of this design was conveyed to ministers by a miserable wretch named Edwards, a government informer, who incited the ignorant plotters to treasonable acts, and then betrayed them. His treachery was amply rewarded by ministers ; and his victims were arrested, and speedily tried, condemned, and executed. The alarm excited by the government to serve its own purposes gradually subsided, but only to give place to an intenser excitement, which reached almost every family in the kingdom.

Early in June the queen arrived in England, and proceeded, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the multitude, to London, where she was cordially welcomed, and became the guest of Alderman Wood, one of the city members. On the same day a message from the king was sent down to Parliament, with the customary green bag containing the famous Report of the Milan Commissioners, and filled with all the disgusting details of sensuality and profligacy invented by perjured cooks and chambermaids to win favor at court. The discussions were postponed, in the vain hope that the public scandal of a trial and divorce might be avoided ; but the negotiations signally failed. On the 5th of July, Lord Liverpool brought into the Lords a Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, with a divorce clause. Public sympathy was at once moved to its very depths for the persecuted wife, who had even been deprived of the prayers of the Church, though she was, as Mr. Denman very happily said, still included in the prayer for "all that are desolate and oppressed" ; and the indignation against the ministers knew no bounds. "Every family," says Lord Brougham, "made the cause its own. Every man, every woman, took part in the fray. Party animosities, personal differences, were suspended, to join with an injured wife against her tyrant husband." Nor were the Lords and Commons less excited than the mass of the people. On one occasion, Lord Chancellor Eldon, in answer to a humorous observation of Lord Holland, very coolly consigned the entire bench of bishops to those lower regions where Dante saw so many wicked prelates expiating their offences by condign punishments. Miss

Martineau's account of the trial is exceedingly meagre and imperfect ; but we quote a single passage, which gives a lively and correct picture of the excited state of things. She says :—

“That summer is distinct in the memory of those who were then of mature age. It was a season of extreme heat. Horses dropped dead on the roads, and laborers in the fields. Yet, along the line of the mails, crowds stood waiting in the burning sunshine for news of the trial, and horsemen galloped over hedge and ditch to carry the tidings. In London, the parks and the West-end streets were crowded every evening ; and through the bright nights of July, neighbours were visiting one another's houses to lend newspapers, or compare rumors. The king was retired within his palace,—unable to come forth without danger of meeting the queen, or of hearing cheers in her favor. She had her two o'clock dinner-parties,—‘Dr. Parr and a large party,’—now a provincial mayor,—now a country baronet,—now a popular clergyman,—come up to tender his own homage and that of his neighbours :—and then came the appearance to the people in an airing ; and, on other days, the going down to the House of Lords. Elsewhere were the Italian witnesses,—guarded like a gang of criminals as they went to and fro : pelted and groaned at wherever they were seen ; driven fast to back doors of the House of Lords, and pushed in, as for their lives. Within the House, there was the earnest attention of the Lords to the summing up of the Solicitor-General (Copley), previous to the production of the witnesses, the rushing out to see the eclipse when the pith and marrow of the matter were disposed of, and the rushing back presently during the mingling of his voice at the close with the sound of ‘the drums and flourish, announcing the queen's arrival’ :—and then, the reception of her Majesty, all standing as she entered and took her seat, as hitherto, on ‘the crimson chair of state, three feet from the bar’ :—and then the swearing in of the interpreter, and the introduction of the first witness,—at whose entrance the queen was looking another way, but on perceiving whom, she uttered an inarticulate exclamation, and hastily retired.—She had nothing to fear from this witness, however, for his evidence was, on the face of it, so ludicrously untrustworthy, that his name, Majocchi, became a joke throughout the country. The poor wretch was an admirable theme for the mob outside, in the intervals between their exhortations to the guards, and the peers, and all who passed to the House, to ‘remember their queen,’—‘remember their sisters,’ their ‘wives,’ their ‘daughters.’ Then there was the perplexity of underlings how to act. The sentinels at Carlton Palace, ‘after a momentary pause, presented arms,’ as her Majesty's carriage

passed: 'the soldiers at the Treasury did not.' Daily was the fervent 'God bless her!' repeated ten thousand times, from the nearest housetop to the farthest point of vision; and daily did the accused appear 'exhausted by fatigue and anxiety,' on returning from hearing, or being informed of, the disgusting charges, the time for replying to which had not yet arrived. Those who remember that July and August, when men's minds were seared with passion or enthusiasm, and the thermometer was ranging from 80° to 90° in the shade, can always be eloquent about the summer of 1820."— pp. 257, 258.

The queen's cause was admirably and successfully managed by Brougham, her Attorney-General, and Denman, her Solicitor-General, both eminent lawyers. A great living jurist has declared that their speeches on this trial have raised the standard of forensic eloquence in England.* She was likewise occasionally aided by the friendly assistance of Lords Grey, Erskine, and Holland. Canning, too, who had come into the ministry some time before as President of the Board of Control, refused to take part in the proceedings, and threw up his office rather than join in the persecution. After the witnesses had all unburdened themselves of the various falsehoods which their prurient imaginations had conceived, the Lords proceeded to the discussion of the bill. The second reading was only carried by a majority of twenty-eight, in a full house; and on the third reading, this majority dwindled to nine. Ministers determined to risk the thing no longer, and at once withdrew the bill. The queen had triumphed. London was brilliantly illuminated for three nights. The rejoicings extended far and wide. And now she sought to return thanks to God for bringing her out of her deep distress and affliction; but the Church again refused her its prayers. She did not long survive this cruel insult. She died on the 7th of August, 1821, in the fifty-third year of her age. Her coffin bore an inscription dictated by herself, which too well told the sad history of her life. There rested the mortal remains of "Caroline of Brunswick, the murdered Queen of England." Her body was carried in triumph through the city of London, in spite of the attempt of the soldiers to prevent it, and was accompanied to Harwich by an immense multitude, who thus testified their sense of her unmerited sufferings. Here the body was embarked for her native country.

* Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*.

It is certain that Caroline's conduct had not been irreproachable, — nay, more, it is certain that she had often been guilty of indiscretions and follies, which naturally aroused suspicion ; but it is almost equally certain, that she was innocent of the graver charges brought against her. Her education had been strangely mismanaged and neglected ; and she seems never to have been subjected to that coercive restraint which is so necessary in the education of children. Lord Malmesbury had well described her conduct as being very “ missish,” when he went over to arrange for her marriage with the Prince of Wales. Her character was naturally light and volatile, and she was entirely unused to the stiffness which marked the court of “ Farmer George and his wife,” as the old king and queen were familiarly called. Her very fondness for society and love of children led to ungenerous remarks and unfounded calumnies. Abroad, she had not been very particular in her choice of friends and companions, but had associated with persons of doubtful virtue, and been attended by lying servants, who betrayed whatever confidence she bestowed on them. Yet her conduct had throughout been far more correct than the conduct of her husband, who now professed a holy horror at her infidelities ; and whether she was innocent or guilty, her trial is a foul blot on the modern history of England, and a disgrace to the ministers engaged in it. It may even be doubted whether any amount of misconduct on her part would have justified them in publishing to the world the sickening details of the so-called “ Delicate Investigations,” and thereby corrupting public morals to an almost unexampled extent. Their consciences indeed revolted ; but the love of place was stronger than conscience. They yielded rather than vacate office ; and have covered their names with everlasting infamy.

They had, however, for some time felt rather unsteady in their seats, and now began to cast around for the means of strengthening themselves. At length they determined to secure the support of the followers of Lord Grenville, who was himself too old to take office. In this design they succeeded, but at the cost of comparatively a large number of offices and honors ; for the new recruits brought to the aid of government only a small amount of talents, and few votes. The news of the coalition was received by the Whigs, as it deserved to be, with a perfect storm of sneers and sarcasms. It so happened that Charles Wynn, one of the principal

leaders of the Grenvilles, was blessed with a voice of a very peculiar tone. Alluding to this circumstance, Lord Erskine said, — "Ministers are hard run, but they still have a *squeak* for it." Lord Holland was hardly less sarcastic. "All articles," said he, "are now to be had at low prices except Grenvilles." Other changes took place. Lord Sidmouth resigned the home department, and was succeeded by Mr. Peel. But the greatest blow to the ultra-Tory section of the cabinet was in the suicide of Lord Castlereagh (lately become Marquis of Londonderry), in the summer of 1822, while on his way to the Congress of Verona. Tidings of this event were received throughout England, and by the oppressed people of Europe, with a sort of fiendish exultation. As the funeral procession passed through the crowded streets of London, men hesitated not to testify their joy at the sight. And when the coffin was removed from the hearse in Westminster Abbey, the multitude gave a cheer which swept through every aisle, and penetrated every corner of that venerable edifice, whither princes and poets, statesmen and scholars, had heretofore been borne in the uninterrupted solemnities of Christian burial. Public sentiment pretty generally pointed to Mr. Canning as his successor ; but Canning was personally distasteful to the king on account of his course in relation to the queen's trial, and his selection was vehemently opposed by Lord Eldon, then thought to hold a controlling influence in the government. These difficulties were finally overcome ; and, a few weeks after, the seals of office were conferred upon Mr. Canning, who was actually on the point of embarking for India, to enter upon the discharge of his duties as Governor-General of that country, when he heard of Castlereagh's death. His appointment brought about further modifications in the cabinet. Vansittart was raised to the Upper House as Baron Bexley, and was succeeded in the Exchequer by Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Goderich, and at a still later period Earl of Ripon. Mr. Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade.

Peel's policy at first did not differ very materially from the policy of Lord Sidmouth ; for it has been one of the most noticeable features in Peel's political life, that his opinions on almost every question have, at different periods, been diametrically opposed. But Canning and Huskisson at once tried innovations. The former had hardly been in office ten

days before he took measures to release England from the entanglements of the Holy Alliance, in which she had been involved by Castlereagh ; and in his future course he departed even more widely from the policy of that statesman. The latter began by effecting a modification in the Navigation Laws, and relieving the ship-owners from some very oppressive evils which had, in the lapse of time, grown out of those laws. He likewise greatly reduced the duties on various imported articles ; and, in general, showed a disposition to adopt a free-trade policy, solely, however, for the advantage of his own country. This is not the fitting occasion, nor are these pages the proper place, for a discussion of Mr. Huskisson's commercial policy ; but we feel compelled to record our protest against the hasty generalizations which Miss Martineau and writers of her school of political economy are so fond of drawing from its success in the present instance. We are fully convinced that Mr. Huskisson's measures, at that time, were the measures of a wise, clear-headed, far-sighted statesman, — that they were then the "one thing needful," and that they led to the rapid increase of British commerce and manufactures which has marked the last quarter of a century ; but it would be a suicidal policy for any country, in a different situation from that in which England then was, to adopt a similar system.

His measures at once produced a revival of business throughout the country. Manufactures and commerce began to flourish ; money became plenty ; new means of investment were sought ; railroads and bridges were built ; canals were dug ; innumerable joint-stock companies sprang up ; bubbles were blown into being and puffed into importance ; silly men and silly women, who knew nothing of the principles of trade, were in haste to be rich. And then, in rapid succession, came the doubt, the panic, the crisis, the crash, — the terrible revulsion which invariably follows over-trading. Distress became as widely extended as prosperity had before been. The youngest of our readers has lived long enough to see such events in our own land ; but we cannot refrain from copying Miss Martineau's vivid description of the distress in England at this time, since it is one of the finest passages in the volume.

"The hilarity and openness of heart and hand, which had made England such a sunny place a year ago, were gone ; and in-

stead, there was now the suspicion with which every man regarded his debtor and his creditor; the daily dread of the Post; the eager glance at the Gazette; the walking out to await the mail; the laying down of pony-carriage and new footman; the giving up the visit to the sea, and the subscription to the book-club and concert; and even, too often, the humbling inquiry of servants, whether they could wait awhile for their wages. The manufacturer looked round on his overloaded shelves, and for every thousand pounds' worth of goods now reckoned five hundred. The widow lady and her daughters, who had paid ready money all their lives, now found themselves without income for half a year together, and could not enjoy a meal, because the butcher's and baker's bill was running on. The dying man, who could not wait for better days, altered his will with a sigh, lessening his children's portions by one half or two thirds. Young lovers, who were to have had a jocund wedding this autumn, looked in one another's faces, and saw that it must not be thought of at present. But worse was to come.

"Here and there the failure of a commercial house was announced. First, the failures were of houses which nobody supposed to be very stable: but presently, one firm after another stopped payment,—one known to possess enormous landed estates; another to be the proprietor of rich mines; a third to have great wealth, fixed or afloat in foreign lands. In these cases, the same story was always told; that it was merely a temporary embarrassment, and that the firms possessed property far exceeding in value their entire liabilities. But so many of these embarrassments occurred, each spreading disorder over its own range of influence, that it presently became doubtful what any kind of property was really worth for any practical purpose. Then, of course, came the turn of the banks,—the securities they held for their vast and rash advances having become, for the time, little better than waste paper. In a country town, on a market-day, the aspect of the market-place was very unlike its wont. The country people were leaving their stalls, and collecting in groups, while some made haste to pack up their produce, and put to their horses, and hie home as if they expected to be robbed if they stayed. Here, a man passed with a gloomy face, and a bank-note clutched in his hand; there, a woman wrung her hands and wept; and an actual wail of many voices was heard amidst the hubbub of the place. The bank of the district had stopped payment. The hopeful went about telling all they met, that it was only for a time, and that every body would be paid at last: the desponding said, that now it had begun there was no saying where it would stop, and that every body would be ruined; and neither the hopeful nor the desponding could suggest any

thing to be done. Buying and selling came almost to a stand ; for the country people looked at every kind of bank-note as if it would burn their fingers, and thought they would rather go home than sell any thing at all. Before going home, however, all who had money in any bank ran to get it out. The run upon the banks spread from district to district ; and very soon to London. Lombard Street was full of men of business, standing about, waiting to hear the disasters of the day, or of persons, even of great wealth, who were hastening to their bankers, to draw out their deposits. It was a time which tried the faith, and courage, and generosity of the rich. Some did not trouble their bankers by any kind of application ; and some few drove up in their carriages, and carried away heavy bags of gold, — with or without apparent shame. On the 5th of December [1825], the news spread with the speed of the wind, that the banking-house of Sir Peter Pole and Company had stopped. This must occasion many failures in the provinces, as this firm had accounts with forty-four country banks. The funds went down immediately ; and faster still next day, when the bank of Williams and Company stopped. From this time the crash went on without intermission, till, in five or six weeks, from sixty to seventy banks had stopped payment." — pp. 358, 359.

Notwithstanding the financial distress, the discontent at Mr. Huskisson's changes among different classes, the renewed agitation of the Catholic question, and the various other disturbing influences which were at work, the ministry went along smoothly enough, until it was broken up by the dangerous sickness of Lord Liverpool, in the early part of the year 1827. Without a single commanding quality of intellect, this nobleman had been premier for nearly fifteen years, and had for a much longer period held high office ; but he was now forced by an attack of apoplexy to relinquish his hold of place, and to retire from the contentions of politics. He died towards the end of the year 1828. Canning and Peel were the principal competitors for the vacant office ; and between them the choice must be made. On the 27th of March, 1827, Mr. Canning had a long interview with the king, in which he declared his fixed determination to refuse office, unless he could himself have the honors and responsibilities of first minister of the crown. His demands were acceded to ; and early in April the new ministry was announced. It was formed by a coalition between the personal friends and supporters of Mr. Canning and the great majority of the Whigs ; and its announcement was received with great

favor throughout the country. "With a unanimity which, as Lord Londonderry wisely supposes," said a strong writer at the time, "can be ascribed only to a dexterous use of the secret-service money, the able and respectable journals of the metropolis have all supported the new government. It has been attacked, on the other hand, by writers who make every cause which they espouse despicable or odious,—by one paper which owes all its notoriety to its reports of the slang uttered by drunken lads who are brought to Bow Street for breaking windows, — by another, which barely contrives to subsist on intelligence from butlers, and advertisements from perfumers. With these are joined all the scribblers who rest their claim to orthodoxy and loyalty on the perfection to which they have carried the arts of ribaldry and slander."* Although it was, in fact, supported by the greater part of the talent of the country, the new ministry was destined to a short and troubled existence. On the 10th of May, a debate sprang up in the House of Lords, on the occasion of the presentation of some petitions against a modification of the Corn Laws. After Earl Spencer and the Whigs generally had given in their adhesion, and the Tories had furiously assailed ministers and the coalition, the debate was closed by a speech of more than classic power from Earl Grey, which sealed the fate of the ministry and sounded the death-knell of Canning himself. Alluding to this speech, a late writer has very truly remarked: — "To find a parallel for the eloquent invective which he directed against Canning, we must go back to the days of Demosthenes; it was one gushing tide of withering sarcasm, deepened and strengthened by a melancholy nowhere definitely expressed, but everywhere present."† Even now, after the lapse of more than twenty-two years, it is impossible to read the speech without being deeply impressed by its peculiar beauty and pathos, as Grey mournfully stood up almost alone, and saw the friends and companions of his youth clustering to the support of a statesman in whom he declared he could

* We take this from a fierce and trenchant article in the *Edinburgh Review*, for June, 1827, on *The Present Administration*, which has been attributed — and, we believe, on sufficient grounds — to Mr. Macaulay. The article created a great sensation at the time, and appears to have caused considerable dissatisfaction; for in the following number we find a second article sustaining the positions made in the first, but in a rather more moderate tone.

† W. Cooke Taylor, *Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel*.

have no confidence. It was, in truth, a solemn sight to see the venerable and revered patriot, who from the very commencement of his political life had been the consistent supporter of liberal principles, sitting on the same benches with men whose principles he thoroughly detested, and whose return to power he declared he should always oppose. Carefully reviewing Canning's whole career, and examining his foreign and domestic policy at great length, he could find no ground of confidence in the right honorable gentleman. He should, therefore, refuse him his support, while he expressly acquitted his own friends of all blame for the course which they saw fit to pursue. His speech was received with enthusiastic cheers, and had its full effect.

Little business of importance was done during the remainder of the session ; and, at the beginning of July, Parliament was prorogued. As soon as he could leave London, Canning repaired to the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick. Thither Fox had borne his feeble frame twenty-one years before, when he retired from the dust and din of party strife to breathe his last in peace ; and it was observed that Canning occupied the same room in which he died. There Canning died on the morning of the 8th of August. He had taken a severe cold at the night funeral of the Duke of York, in the preceding January, and his disease was doubtless increased by the overwhelming and crushing effect of Grey's memorable speech. The party differences between them had long since changed into personal animosity ; and a bitter quarrel had existed for years, fanned on the one side by Canning's matchless powers of wit, fanned on the other side by Grey's sarcasm and contempt. More than any one else, Canning had reviled and slandered Fox, — "the man," said Grey, on the floor of Parliament, in May, 1817, "whom, in public life, I most loved and admired" ; and Grey did not readily forget the insult heaped on his friend. When it was first announced that Hone was to be prosecuted for his "blasphemous parodies," Grey had risen in the House of Lords, and, repeating a portion of Canning's famous parody, "Praise Lepaux," inquired whether the author or authors of that and similar parodies, whether in or out of the cabinet, would likewise be prosecuted and brought to trial. Such an inquiry, at such a time, must have long rankled in Canning's breast. He, too, had never let an opportunity slip of winging his arrows at his adversary ; but in this conflict he proved

the weaker man, and fell a victim to his own rashness in provoking the conflict. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the feet of the younger Pitt, in the only spot of ground in Poets' Corner which was unoccupied.

Miss Martineau entertains so great an admiration of Canning, that she has done considerable injustice to Grey in her account of Canning's short-lived administration. Indeed, her chapter on this subject is, upon the whole, the most objectionable passage in the volume. Not satisfied with stigmatizing Grey as Canning's "arch foe," — an elegant epithet, which she elsewhere applies to the Duke of York, — she even misrepresents his speech, as characterized by "the most intense personal animosity," as being a "striking and mournful instance of the effect of prejudice in blinding one great man to the merits of another," and as being "so insolent, hard, and cold, so insulting, and so cruel." We regret that she should thus confound the spotless purity of Grey's intentions and acts with the unrelenting hostility of the ex-ministers and their followers, — men with whom he had hardly a single sentiment in common. It was to them, and not to Grey, that the Viscountess Canning referred, when she afterwards reproached Mr. Huskisson with joining "the murderers of his friend, her husband." Grey's position was a peculiarly painful position. He had been brought up at the feet of Mr. Fox, had drunk in a love of freedom as he listened to the familiar conversation of that great statesman, had always been a Whig since he entered Parliament, and had never, for one moment, swerved from a strict devotion to the cause of the people. Yet he now saw himself deserted for one who had been Mr. Pitt's warmest supporter when Pitt's every effort was employed to crush the friends of popular liberty, and who had always upheld Pitt's arbitrary measures. It was natural that he should feel some distrust of Canning's new-born zeal for liberal principles. It was proper that he should say so ; for he was the last of those great men whose names have immortalized the previous generation, and he had long been one of the most prominent leaders of his party. Situated as Grey was, it is not easy to discover what other ground he could consistently or properly have taken. There is no reason whatever for insinuating that he was "blinded by prejudice," or for casting any unworthy imputation on his course. His whole life bears witness to the rare excellence of his character ; and it was to his uprightness that his early

failure as a politician, to which he touchingly alluded in his speech, is directly to be traced.

On the death of Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich succeeded to the premiership, without any other change in the cabinet ; but he was miserably unfit for the office, and it was remarked that his administration was the weakest which had been known in England for many years. When Chancellor of the Exchequer he had made himself the jest of every one by his ludicrous blunders in opening the budget, and had been dubbed "Prosperity Robinson" by the Parliamentary wits on account of his inability to distinguish between the increase and the diminution of the national debt. He showed as little ability as prime minister as he had exhibited in his less responsible position ; and hastily retreated from office when difficulties began to thicken around him. He dared not face Parliament after the battle of Navarino, and his ministry at once split into fragments. The Duke of Wellington was next empowered to form an administration. The ministry of which he became the head was constituted in nearly the same manner as that which was in power when Lord Liverpool lost the use of his mental faculties. Lord Lyndhurst, however, a moderate Tory, had the chancellorship in place of Lord Eldon, who had held the Great Seal longer than any of his predecessors since the half-fabulous days of Saint Swithin. Lord Dudley, a blundering statesman who soon after became insane, was Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Most of the other offices were filled as they had been on the former occasion.

The new ministry commenced its labors under happy auspices for the cause of civil and religious liberty. Towards the end of February, 1828, Lord John Russell moved in the House of Commons for a committee to take into consideration the expediency of repealing the Corporation and Test Acts, under which the Dissenters had groaned ever since the time of Charles the Second. Their repeal was at first feebly opposed by the ministry, but was at length taken up as a government measure ; and a bill abrogating the Dissenters' disabilities was triumphantly carried through both Houses, in spite of the untiring opposition of Lord Eldon, who only once or twice in the whole course of his life favored any reform. The passage of this important and noble measure is mainly due to the exertions of Lord John Russell and his friends, although it is pretty certain that it could not have

been carried at this time without the aid of government. The Whigs had uniformly been friendly to the Dissenters ; and as early as May, 1792, Mr. Fox had asked leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the Unitarians, which was opposed by Burke. The Tories, on the other hand, had just as uniformly opposed every measure for their relief. Canning himself, although an advocate of Catholic Emancipation, had always opposed granting any relief to the Dissenters. Miss Martineau finds it very hard to understand why Canning took this course. Yet it was openly declared in Parliament and out of Parliament at the time, that Canning refused to relieve the Dissenters because he desired them to make common cause with the Catholics. If he could not carry Catholic Emancipation, he would not help the Dissenters. Such were Canning's ideas of liberal principles. Such were not Grey's ideas of liberal principles.

The passage of this bill was followed by the resignation of Mr. Huskisson, in consequence of a personal misunderstanding with the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Huskisson was followed in his retirement by all the liberal members of the cabinet ; and their places were filled with undoubted Tories. But the time for old-fashioned measures had passed. The repeal of the Dissenters' disabilities had opened the way for Catholic Emancipation. This great question had agitated the nation for many years. For the last thirty-five years it had made and unmade cabinets. It had kept one set of men in office. It had kept another set of men out of office. It had driven Mr. Pitt from the premiership. It had driven George the Third crazy. It had disturbed all classes in society and both sexes. High Churchwomen had imprisoned their husbands at home to prevent them from voting in favor of the Catholics ; and Lord Eldon's favorite toast for several days was, — " The ladies who locked up their husbands." Things, however, had gone too far to be stopped by the ex-chancellor and his female supporters. Peel saw which way the current was tending, and turned a political somerset, as he had often done before, and has often done since. The unwearied opponent of Emancipation came up the fast friend of the Catholics. Never had there been a more remarkable or a more beneficial change in any man's politics. On the 5th of March, 1829, Peel brought forward the Catholic Relief Bill. The measure was fiercely opposed by the ultra-Tories, who plainly foresaw the downfall of " the true Prot-

estant religion," and a long catalogue of calamities too dreadful to be mentioned. Sir Charles Wetherell, the Attorney-General, who had refused to have any thing to do with the preparation of the bill, made himself particularly ridiculous by the violence of his language and gestures. In the first of his two speeches against the bill his passion rose to such a height, that there was reason to fear his clothes would drop from his back. Thereupon Mr. Manners Sutton, the Speaker of the House of Commons, remarked :— "The only lucid interval in the speech was the interval between the orator's waistcoat and breeches." But all opposition was unavailing. The bill passed both houses by large majorities, received the royal sanction as soon as presented, and became law, to the great alarm and regret of Lord Eldon, and those who agreed in sentiment with him.

No one will suppose we feel any undue bias towards the Romish faith or the Romish ritual ; but we cannot record the triumph of this great measure for removing the civil disabilities of the Catholics without a feeling of profound satisfaction. While we are satisfied that those disabilities were in the first instance rightly imposed, we are equally satisfied that the time for their continuance had long since passed. There had been a time when it was necessary, for the preservation of the political liberties of England, that Catholics should be excluded from all offices of trust ; but more than a century had elapsed since that time, and it was absurd to keep up the restrictions. When the Catholic Relief Bill was brought in, the Catholics were to all intents and purposes excluded from the public service, and the statute-books were loaded with oppressive acts, designed to keep them in a virtual state of servitude. Many of these acts dated back to the time of Charles the Second, when the unprincipled character of James, Duke of York, was ill calculated to recommend his religion to popular favor. But these disabilities were all swept away by the Relief Bill ; and the heir of the princely house of Howard, who could trace his ancestry, in an unbroken line, back to the fourteenth century, could once more sit and deliberate in the House of Lords, and there behold the tapestried representation of that ancestor who had so gallantly commanded the British fleet, when men grew pale at the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada. There, too, might others sit, less illustrious than he, but whose names were still cherished by the student of English history.

Catholic Emancipation was the last important measure of the reign of George the Fourth. The king had ruined his health by his early excesses and dissipation, and had increased his bodily infirmities by the nervous excitement and childish fits of passion to which he had been subject during the discussion of the Relief Bill. He died on the 26th of June, 1830, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. During the latter part of his reign, he had sought no opportunities of making himself popular, had held no court, had attended no reviews, had not even opened Parliament in person, had rarely shown himself in public, and had kept secluded within the limits of his own palace. People felt rather glad than otherwise when he was dead. The day of his funeral was kept as a holiday. The outward signs of grief were hardly anywhere seen; and even the customary court mourning was confined to a very small number of persons.

Miss Martineau has given a pretty fair summing up of the character of this reign. She says : —

“At the close of the first reign since the Peace, it is easy to see that a great improvement in the national welfare had taken place, though the period was in itself one of gloom and agitation. The old Tory rule was broken up, like an ice-field in spring, and the winds were all abroad to prevent its reuniting. There were obstacles ahead, but so many were floating away behind that the expectations of progress were clear and strong. On every account it was a good thing that the old Tory rule was broken up, but chiefly for this, that when the thing was done, by the strong compulsion of fact, of necessity men were beginning to look for the principle of the change, and thereby to obtain some insight into the views of the parties that had governed, or would or might govern, the country. Men began to have some practical conception that the Tories thought it their duty to govern the people (for their good) as a disposable property; that the Whigs thought it their duty to govern, as trustees of the nation, according to their own discretion [this is not exactly true]; and that there were persons living and effectually moving in the world of politics, [the Radicals, whose principal organ was the *Westminster Review*,] who thought that the people ought to govern themselves through the House of Commons. This perception once awakened, a new time had from that moment begun, of which we are, at this day, very far from seeing the end. With the departure of George the Fourth into the region of the past, we are taking leave of the old time; and can almost join in even Lord Eldon's declarations about the passing away of the things that had been, and the incoming of a

new and portentous age of the national history ; though we do not sympathize in his terrors and regrets, nor agree with him, that what had been dropped was that which should have been retained, and that whatever should supervene was to be deprecated because it was new. We have, what the old Tories have not and cannot conceive of, the deepest satisfaction in every proof that the national soul is alive and awake, that the national mind is up and stirring. There was proof of this at the close of this reign, in what had been done, and in what was clearly about to be done ; and this trumpet-call to advance was heard above loud groans of suffering and deep sighs of depression, and the nation marshalled itself for the advance accordingly.

“ As for the facts of what had been done, the old Tory rule by hereditary custom, or an understanding among the ‘ great families ’ whom Mr. Canning so mortally offended, was broken up. Exclusion from social right and privilege, on account of religious opinion, was broken up ; that is, the system was, as a whole, though some partial exclusion remained, and remains to this day. In the same manner, the system of commercial restriction was broken up, though, in practice, monopoly was as yet far more extensive than liberty of commerce. Slavery was brought up for trial at the tribunal of the national conscience ; and, whatever might be the issue, impunity, at least, was at an end. The delusion of the perfection of existing law was at an end ; and the national conscience was appealed to to denounce legal vengeance and cruelty, to substitute justice in their place. Hope had dawned for the most miserable classes of society ; for, while some of the first men in the nation were contending for an amelioration of the criminal law in Parliament, one of the first women of her time was going through the prisons to watch over and enlighten the victims of sin and ignorance. The admission of a new order of men into the cabinet ; the bending of the old order, even of the Iron Duke himself, to their policy ; the emancipation of Dissenters and Catholics ; the adoption of some measures on behalf of slaves ; the partial adoption of free trade ; the continued ameliorations of the criminal law through the efforts of Sir S. Romilly, Mr. Peel, and Sir James Mackintosh ; and the interest excited in the condition of prisoners by the exertions of Mrs. Fry, — are features in the domestic policy of England which must mark for ever as illustrious the first reign succeeding the Peace.” — pp. 555, 556.

Certainly, the fifteen years over which Miss Martineau’s first volume extends were marked by a great progress in popular liberty ; but they dwindle into insignificance when compared with the next period of fifteen years. The first

years of the new reign were to witness a greater Parliamentary battle than any that had been fought in England since the memorable debates which preceded the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole. The way had been prepared for victory, and even now men were girding themselves for the conflict. The Whigs had relieved the Dissenters and emancipated the Catholics; and now they could turn their whole energies to securing Parliamentary Reform. A few "rotten boroughs" had already been disfranchised; but it was reserved for Charles, Earl Grey, to give the finishing stroke to a corrupt system. His administration was to be made famous through all coming time by the greatest political event in English history since the Revolution of 1688, with the single exception of the loss of the American colonies. The direct consequences of the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 cannot now be fully measured. But we may rest assured it is the only thing that has saved England from the terrible revolutions which have agitated the rest of Europe for the last year and a half.

C. C. S.

ART. III. — EXPOSITION OF ST. MATTHEW XVIII. 15 - 18.

CHRIST perpetually "took the things of God and showed them unto men." His rules of duty are never mere rules, but the application of great principles. Nor are his principles adapted merely to the condition of man upon earth, — they are the mind of God and the law of heaven. He prescribes for us the exercise of such sentiments and affections as pervade and govern the divine administration. His precepts might all be expressed in that of the Apostle, — "Be ye followers of God as dear children." Thus, in all our social relations, the example of God is constantly held before us, both as the rule and the motive of duty, — we are bidden to forgive as he forgives, and to love as he loves. The passage which we propose to expound in the present article derives peculiar interest and importance from the coincidence of the process prescribed in the case of an offending brother with the divine plan. It is by like successive steps that God deals with the transgressor of his law.

When we enter upon any sinful course, God first "tells

us our fault between us and him alone." He might have so adjusted the complex framework of body and soul, and so arranged the conditions of life, that every thought should paint itself on the countenance, and every germ of evil desire, every first step in the way of transgressors, put us to open shame. But it is not so. The thoughts, desires, and purposes which may at length disgrace us before men ripen gradually in our hearts, and our first timid steps in the downward path hardly arrest the notice of the most watchful human friend. But God tells us of them. His inward monitor pleads against them. His daily mercy cries reproach upon them. His spirit, still unquenched, preaches repentance. Day after day his written law, Sabbath after Sabbath the voices of the sanctuary, cry, "Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?" Protracted and earnest are the ministries by which he calls us back to duty and promises pardon. And if we heed them our sin goes no farther. We stand among our brethren as the sinless might stand. Not only is our "iniquity forgiven," but our "sin is covered." How many must there be, who have thus been in the most imminent moral danger, but no mortal ever knew it; for they heard the voice of God in secret, and suffered him to call them back to honor, duty, and happiness.

But suppose that we go a step farther in evil, so that our sin assumes forms which cannot escape human observation. Still, at first, it commonly arrests the regards of but very few, and those our nearest kindred or our most watchful friends. To them God in his providence imparts the portentous secret, taking them with him as his "two or three witnesses"; and their entreaties, warnings, and remonstrances are added to the pleadings of his spirit. Their love, it may be, prevails, and we are saved. It is not till we have set them at naught that he tells the matter to the "congregation,"* — makes it public. And even when this is done, there is hope for us. Other voices of expostulation and admonition reach us. There are many too kind, too hopeful, to abandon us. There is space for us to retrace our steps, and to recover our position among the good. If we "hear

* We hardly need say that the word here and so often rendered *church* in our English version denotes, in general, a public assembly of whatever kind, and, in its more restricted sense, a congregation of Jewish or Christian worshippers, — never a body of Christian communicants considered as distinct from their fellow-worshippers.

the congregation," if the first whispers of general shame or censure arouse slumbering conscience and awaken true repentance, the handwriting of our condemnation is erased, and we are saved "as a brand from the burning." But if every appeal fails, God then suffers us to take the stand and bear the reproach of "a heathen man, or a publican." We no longer have any hold upon, or connection with, the virtuous and God-serving. We openly bear the mark and wear the livery of a very different master ; nor is there any law of God which forbids or prevents men's calling us by that master's name, — designating us as the willing slaves of the sin that we now choose and love. Yet even at the worst, the heathen and the publican, though they must bear the reproach while they continue to deserve it, are not absolutely cut off from the Divine mercy, for God welcomes the prodigal back though it is as a prodigal, and sends his Son to seek and save the lost, though it is as the lost that he saves them. But there is, under the government of God, a class of distinctly marked, determined, habitual offenders ; and this class consists of those who will hear neither God, nor the two or three witnesses, nor the congregation. Such is the divine forbearance, that, till one has passed all these grades of contumacy, his evil moral position is not fixed.

The passage under discussion has been sadly misapprehended, in having been regarded as propounding a set of technical rules for church discipline, — not as an embodiment of the great law of godlike forbearance and long-suffering. The spirit of these injunctions of Christ has often been grossly violated, where there has been the utmost care to keep close to their letter. We have known instances in which a Christian church has been turned into a permanent court of judicature, brother all the time going to law with brother, and that *not* before unbelievers, and ecclesiastical censures and excommunications are launched against offences which the slightest infusion of charity might have healed. We have known in such cases the prosecuting party to hurry through the successive technical steps supposed to be pointed out by Christ, even as a giant rejoices to run his race, and to make the three succeed each other as rapidly as the formal readings of a bill on the last day of a session of Congress, in order to hasten on the excitement of an ecclesiastical trial and the scandal of a sentence of suspension or excision. Nothing could be more alien from the spirit of these instructions. Those who never

tell any thing to the Church act in much nearer accordance with their true import, as we shall now endeavour to show.

In our Saviour's time it was customary for the Jews to carry their domestic and social quarrels directly into the synagogue; and any one who thought himself aggrieved by his neighbour, nay, by his wife or child, could procure the offender's name to be called out in the synagogue, with epithets of reproach and contumely on the very next Sabbath. Thus social wounds were seldom healed, and, offence once given, it was hardly possible for reconciliation to take place. It was this state of things (which is almost reproduced by what in modern times is called active church discipline) that our Saviour meant to obviate in the discourse now under review. He has just been pleading in behalf of the more frail and feeble members, the "little ones" of his flock, and the words immediately preceding this passage are, "It is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish"; while it is followed by the parable of the servant who refused to remit the debt of a hundred pence to his fellow-servant, when his master had released him from a debt of a thousand talents. It is, as we have indicated, against the vicious habit of carrying private broils into the synagogue, and making private offences public, that our Saviour gave the directions, of which we offer the following paraphrase:—

"Offences no doubt must come among you. Be it your aim to cover and to heal them. Keep them then private, till you can do so no longer. Leave no mode of reconciliation untried. If your brother commits an offence against you, let it at first remain a secret between you and him. Go to him in a kind and loving spirit. Talk over the matter with him alone. Your forbearance and magnanimity will very probably induce him promptly to make the explanation or reparation that is your due. It may have been on his part a mere misunderstanding, which you can easily set right. It may have been some wayward impulse of which he already repents, and which your kindness will at once lead him to confess. By this course you may gain your brother,—may make him more your brother than before. But if you fail, procure the aid of one or two common friends. Let them, if they can, reconcile you and him; or, at least, let them be witnesses and helpers of your placable spirit. If their efforts fail, and if they think you wholly in the right and him wholly in the wrong, you may then let the matter become more generally known; for the difference between you cannot remain hidden,

and it is only justice to your character that your fellow-Christians should know who is the offending party, and how earnestly and patiently you have sought reconciliation. And if you are really in the right, and he in the wrong, there is hope that the expression of a more general opinion, which will thus reach him, will lead him to accept the overtures towards reconciliation which he has hitherto declined. But if he will not hear the congregation, [the *church*, either the general opinion of its members, or their joint efforts as a body of Christian believers to bring him to a sense of his wrong,] then may you fittingly regard such a man as you now regard the heathen and the publicans; that is, he has forfeited your confidence, has shown himself unworthy the name of a disciple, — he is one with whom you cannot live peaceably, and you should therefore refrain from his society so long as he retains his wrong feelings towards you. You are still to wish him well, to pray for him, to do him good if you have opportunity, to cherish no hostile sentiments toward him. But there are those who can be, and those who cannot be, made subjects of Christian fellowship; and to this latter class belongs the person, whom neither the brother that he has offended, their common friends, nor the whole brotherhood with which they are associated, can bring to meet the demands of justice. Let, then, your terms of fellowship be broad and catholic. Retain all that you can within the pale of brotherhood. Cut off those only who cut themselves off by their unbrotherly contumacy. If you administer the offices of religious fellowship in this open-hearted, forbearing, liberal spirit, your doings will be ratified in heaven. What you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, what you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. [To *bind* and to *loose* are words used with reference to the door of an apartment, and metaphorically with reference to the doors of the *church*, or the Christian brotherhood, denoting to *fasten* and to *unfasten*, and thence to *exclude* and to *admit*, or *restore*.] The hasty denunciations and excommunications of the synagogue are mere outbreaks of unholy passion, and are not ratified on high. But if you pursue this forbearing, long-suffering course towards the offending, and after all are obliged to exclude any from your fellowship, their exclusion will be sanctioned in heaven, — you can shut out none whom God would have you keep, while the offending, whom by this course you restore, will be such as God would have you keep. Thus may the gates of the visible Church open and shut simultaneously with those of the invisible, of which God holds the key."

Such, it seems to us, is the true and obvious sense of these words. It is at the farthest possible remove from authorizing the system of mutual *espionage* commonly called *church discipline*, which drags every matter of personal offence

and scandal before the whole body of believers. We grant that it might sanction, or at least permit, an appeal to the church collectively in the last resort, but not till every Christian means of reconciliation has been tried, first in profound secrecy between the offended and the offending party, and then with the privacy of those only who can best aid in effecting an amicable adjustment. But were these steps first taken in their true spirit, the occasion for an appeal to the church could hardly ever occur, and the need of any established rules or system of church discipline would not be felt once in a generation.

The passage on which we have made these comments had primary reference to customs peculiar to the Jews. But it embodies principles no less applicable to our own times than to the infancy of the Church ; and we will now endeavour with all possible brevity to state and illustrate these principles.

1. Our Saviour makes it the duty of the offended party to take the first step towards reconciliation. This is not the way of the world. This is not the morality of the street or the forum. This is not the dictate of pride or unsanctified resentment. But it is God's way with us. When we have sinned, the Father comes forth to meet us, — inspires the will, supplies the strength, for our return to him. His continued goodness leads us to repentance. Did he withdraw his mercy in consequence of our sin, did he wait in unreconciled anger for us to prostrate ourselves in contrite submission, what man is there who would be at this time within reach of salvation ? There are many reasons why the offended party should first seek reconciliation. It may be that the offence was unintentionally and unconsciously given, and the offending brother at the outset knows not that we are offended, and may long be ignorant why, be surprised at our coldness, and himself be as much wounded as we are. A very large part of the offences which are given and taken are of this class, — literally mere *misunderstandings*, demanding only explanation, and not even concession or apology ; and often what is deemed a very grave offence (and it seems impossible that it could be otherwise) proves to be nothing more than this. In such a case, the overture towards an explanation must be made by the party that knows what there is that needs to be explained. But has our brother really wronged us ? He may have done so without the consciousness of wrong. He may have re-

ported of us untruths which he believed to be true. He may have prosecuted his imagined rights to the prejudice of our real rights, and yet not have fully known what our rights were. He may have grossly misjudged our motives or our conduct, and yet not have meant to be unjust. In this case, we, knowing that he is wrong, and having the means of setting him right, are called upon to vindicate ourselves with him, and to reconcile him with ourselves ; while he, believing that he is right, may not feel called upon in conscience to take any such steps toward us. Again, our brother may have wilfully and wantonly wronged us in speech or deed. If so, he has violated his own moral nature, but not ours. He has made himself a sinner, but not us. He ought not by such a course to have robbed us of a single Christian attribute or feeling. We are the morally sound and healthy party of the two ; and, if the wound is to be healed, we, the healthy, and not he, the diseased party, must be the physician. He, without a decided change of disposition, without sincere repentance, will not acknowledge his wrong. But our kind approaches, our reconciling overtures, our proffered forgiveness, are means of divine appointment and efficiency to bring him to repentance. Moreover, he, of the two, is the object of pity, of compassion. Not he that suffers, but he that does the wrong, is the real victim. He is the sinner whom God commissions us to save. In the very relation which has brought us together as injured and injurer, God makes him our neighbour, and commends him to our Christian offices.

2. The spirit of the instructions which we have had under discussion would also forbid our giving publicity to the injury done us, so long as we can keep it private, and hope for repentance and reparation from the offending party. In common life is not this principle violated with lamentable frequency ? When we are injured, or think that we are, we may not indeed tell the church collectively, but we tell them individually. The offender may be the very last to hear of the imagined wrong. We proclaim the fact to his injury, and excite against him the censure and disesteem of others. The tale spreads, and grows as it spreads. Every careless, every gossiping, every envious tongue adds something of its own. The molehill towers into a mountain. The originally offending thus becomes the injured party, and acquires the rights of the injured. Then harsh and bitter things are said

and done on both sides, and reported in exaggerated forms from each to the other, till the enmity becomes flagrant and irreconcilable, presenting a living commentary on the text, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth!" The fire might at first have been smothered by the hand; but it now rages fiercely enough to verify what St. James says of such conflagrations, that they are "set on fire of hell." As we have said, were Christian modes adopted at the outset, few would be the cases, and none among the fair-minded and well-disposed, none among Christians worthy of the name, in which there would be need to give publicity to a real or imagined wrong or injury. The only motive which can authorize such a step is justice to our own character, influence, or usefulness, when every private mode of obtaining explanation or redress has been tried and failed. He who would compel us to such a course is no better than a heathen. No secret ought to be so sacred as that of a social wrong, for which we have not yet sought redress by Christian means; and, were such secrets kept, how would the censorious tongue be paralyzed, and those rills of calumny, which wind their serpent path from house to house, and separate very friends, be dried up!

3. Finally, the passage which has been the subject of these remarks breathes, over and above specific rules, the spirit of patient forbearance and cordial forgiveness, of that charity which "believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." That it was so regarded by those who heard it is evident from Peter's question, asked immediately afterwards, "*How often* shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?" And in harmony with the words that had just fallen from his lips, Jesus replies, "I say not unto thee, till seven times, but until seventy times seven." The spirit quick to resent and slow to forgive may seem strong, but, in reality, only betrays its weakness and its poverty. It is not its own keeper. It is at the mercy of the injurious and calumnious. Its peace and happiness are never secure for a moment. The truly great spirit is incapable of injury from without. The shafts of malice, calumny, and envy recoil and drop from it, as weak weapons from a well-proved shield. Forgiveness is the mark of a soul that can be harmed, not in its own essential nature, but only in circumstances which it can outlive and look down upon. The time is hastening on, when

the best of us must appear disembodied spirits before the eternal throne, conscious of the sins that preceded and accompanied our purest hours and most devoted obedience, not to claim, but to implore, pardon and acceptance. There is one petition, offered in form as often as we pray, in our Saviour's words, which we shall then wish to offer, in full consciousness and in deep sincerity of soul, — "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who have trespassed against us." Let us, by forbearance, forgiveness, and mercy in our earthly relations, keep open what will be our only sanctuary of hope, our only avenue of mercy, when we pass the gates of death, and cast ourselves for eternity on the Divine compassion!

A. P. P.

ART. IV. — WHIPPLE'S LECTURES ON LITERATURE AND LIFE.*

THE author of this volume is conspicuous among those who have owned and paid largely to literature the debt which we cannot see how they ever incurred. With slender early advantages, he has climbed to the heights of scholarship and placed himself in the front rank both of public lecturers and of living authors. Free from the conceit which is apt to fix upon the self-taught, he with modest, patient labor goes on making his large and frequent contributions to that cause of sound learning in which the best interests of man are involved. We repeat to him, in his new appearance, the welcome given by this journal to the publication of his former work. We do not, however, now intend so much to go into an examination of the style or sentiments expressed in these Lectures, as to characterize, if we may, the faculty that distinguishes their author, — to estimate the nature and importance of his gift, and the whole exercise he makes of it.

Mr. Whipple is peculiarly and eminently a critic. In saying this we express no doubt of the original and creative capacity of his mind. He has given incidental proof that he might take no ordinary position as an historian, or a worker in the mercurial mines of speculative philosophy, or perhaps as

* *Lectures on Subjects connected with Literature and Life.* By E. P. Whipple. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1849. 16mo. pp. 218.

a poet of human life and manners. But he has chosen wisely at least to begin his career with a function which he discharges with so much ability and admirable truth. He is a critic, and, to say the least, very prominent among the critics of our country and time. He has often been compared with Macaulay. But simply as a literary critic, we must regard him as superior to that marvellous writer, who has carried an imperial strength of will and all the verbal weapons of war into the cogent reasoning and among the clear crystal thoughts of his printed page.

Nor do we think lightly of this function of the critic. Such an exponent or middle-man is needed to stand between the perhaps ignorant, unwary reader and the host of authors with the mass of books, the heaped deposit from the tide of the past, or the late issue of the now double-speeder of the press. We require a guide in this vast and strange land of thought and fancy, that we may not lose time or be ourselves lost. Often has the producer of intellectual beauty and wisdom been indebted to the critic for a quicker and wider introduction to the public, and the public indebted to him for clearing the house of idlers, thieves, indecent persons, and disturbers of the peace. Criticism itself has indeed often been unjust and malignant, or false and flattering, or fulsome and blind. But only all the more has it been necessary that the true critic should "come and search" his unworthy neighbour, while, in the general result, the truth is told to the guidance and advantage of those who hear.

The man who plainly and nobly fills this office is a benefactor deserving our special gratitude. "Art is long and individual life" too "short" to retrace her steps or receive all her productions. We should probably be amazed by a just statement of the degree to which the so-called learned class themselves owe their impressions of great works and world-renowned authors to the references in essays and the columns of reviews. The periodical writer is the representative even of the princes of knowledge, in foreign places and to distant times. Aristotle and Plato, Plutarch and Cicero, seldom appear but as led in through translations, quotations, and commentaries. The false and prejudiced reporter of the great genius which has come for a blessing to humanity is thus an arch-deceiver, akin to those of whom Job speaks, who "talk deceitfully for God." The lie that is told with pen and type has always a sublimity of wicked-

ness about it, as, like the diabolic whisper, it exercises a pervading power to mislead thousands together, while the tongue can usually mislead but one or few at a time. The critic should, therefore, be held to a strict responsibility, and, if vile motives prompt him to misrepresentation, be charged with aggravated guilt. But when he is faithful and candid in his business, which is to make a second comment on that which is itself a commentary on nature and life, he shares largely in the author's own merit. He preserves from age to age the bestowments of genius. He bears along what is most costly and useful in that freight of knowledge, something of which no care can keep from being lost by the way, but which this wondrous vessel of literature so largely contains. He dives for pearls in the mighty deep of learning, and brings up many a jewel which would else have been unseen. He unburies a treasure of wisdom more precious than all that is disinterred from old Nineveh, or overwhelmed Pompeii.

Mr. Whipple, judged with reference to this ideal standard, is found as little wanting as any one with whose efforts we are acquainted. His conscience is clean. His decisions are kindly and good-humored when severe. There is no drop of gall or acid in his heart. His pen does not poison when it wounds. Withal, he has the pure critical talent in uncommon perfection. As much as the poet has "the vision and the faculty divine," he has the power to appreciate it and every kind of faculty. His mind, like dendritic minerals, bears an exact print and likeness of real objects. His touch seems to detect the qualities of an author more infallibly than could an elaborate search. We hear of a physician who discovers whatever disease one may be afflicted with by passing his hand lightly over the skin. Such is this literary or intellectual tact which seems to penetrate the heart by means alone of the surface. The slightest shades of sense, the most delicate varieties of talent, with every symptom and cause of mental health and unsoundness, are revealed to it as to a sure instinct. Sometimes this critical gift seems a keen penetration, going into the soul of its object, sometimes a passive receiving of the traits it studies, as of lines upon a map, or of the sun-painted daguerreotype upon the silvered plate, and sometimes a genial reproduction and a dramatic, almost passionate, enactment of the character surveyed. It sees like Homer, sketches like Dante, conceives like Shakspeare.

This critical insight, drawing, or re-creation, we think Mr. Whipple largely evinces. He is one of those who, by native organization or acquired skill, possess something of that "discerning of spirits" once bestowed as an extraordinary gift. Or rather by intellectual assimilation of every excellent quality from the thousand displays of genius he has witnessed and admired, he knows real merit by an inward evidence of likeness and sympathy, as the needle knows the pole. The only divining-rod for intellectual treasure is a kindred and apprehensive spirit. Better than all opinion or logical demonstration, this will detect every species and measure of genuine worth. Subtile as the love caused by affinity of nature is the appreciation which discovers the friends of our virtue and the brethren of our minds. This power of immediate perception and just esteem is everywhere apparent in Mr. Whipple's writings, and we do not see that it is warped by any personal grudge or narrow prejudice. If he ever exceeds in the generosity of the tribute he pays, he never enviously abates from what is justly due, and he takes the law by which his sentence is pronounced from no little circle or clanship of taste, but from the broad reason of things. Exceptions may undoubtedly be taken to the judgments he has expressed about one or another of the great troop of authors that have passed under his eye, — for our conclusions in literature partake, of course, of the diversities of our minds and characters, — and few things are more decided, and even violent, than the favoritisms, the partisan likes and dislikes, which are born of authorship. Our general estimate, in this case, arises, not from a friendly prepossession for a worthy laborer in the great vineyard where is room for all, but from a somewhat close, and we hope conscientious examination of the spot and the fruit of his toil.

It might be interesting to inquire what combination of intellectual and spiritual tendencies should produce or be the condition of this competency for the work of criticism, — what may fit one to sit in this assaying and refining of the precious metal of thought; or what ingredients compose this test and touchstone, under whose application all the qualities, however various or hidden, in a so complex product of the human brain, start up in their true proportions and real character. The abstract problem is too great and recondite for our present room and purpose. Yet we may handle it briefly and concretely in connection with our author's own qualities.

One requisite evidently is a large and generous mind, a broad and accurate observation of men and things, a mirror of such clearness and size, that the images of all reality may rest in it without contraction or distortion. But there must be something more than this open-eyed fairness of look and purpose. What is rational and spiritual is not reflected in glass, nor in a plain, prosaic understanding, but only in the depths of a living soul, that apprehends and embraces with a fellow-feeling all intellectual and moral grandeur, nobleness, and purity. Both sides of what the metaphysicians intend by their distinction of subjective and objective must belong to the true critical judge. Like the tree Virgil speaks of, tending with its roots as deep to the centre as it flings its branches far abroad into the heavens, must be the profoundness of his meditation, answering to the stretch and distance of his outward gaze. And, at whatever point this interior capacity falls short, a crude and ignorant dogmatism will mark his conclusions about particular authors and works.

Mr. Whipple seems to us to have and to be qualified by this twofold nature and attainment. He is no transcendent mystic, his eye so introverted as to be blind to the objects passing before it, — while he gazes at the stars of the inner firmament, falling into a pit in his earthly path. Neither is he a superficial empiric, determining all by external sense and material dimension. His intuitions are wedded to experience, his ideas illustrated or suggested by facts, his soul disciplined by duty, his intellect trained by business and life. He evidently delights in keen analysis, in subtle distinctions, in the clamberings of an abstruse logic, in the dizzy peaks and altitudes of the previous questions and fundamental problems of thought, following after the chamois-footed explorer with an alertness and agility emulous of his own. And yet he is even more at home, with an ampler domain, in the region of historical varieties, biographical incidents, and significant events. All the streams of learning seem to have poured a rich alluvion over the native soil of his mind. Like the beds of Californian rivers, and the crevices of rocks that have caught all the gold flowing down in grains for ages, so has he gathered the riches of the most ancient literature. No virtuoso's cabinet is more highly adorned with articles rich and rare than are the chambers of his memory with the finest thoughts and sayings, "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Yet his mind has not, as is so often the case,

grown hard and stiff with this firm and unrelaxing grasp of recollection, but has combined therewith the most flexible sensibility to all that is tender or grand in feeling, and all that is holy and commanding in situation. He has an ear patient for a chronicle, and pleased with a song, an imagination that glows at a masterly characterization or a beautiful metaphor, with a wit and humor that smile and weep, but never mock or sting. The rhythm of verse reaches him, and oratory, with every vehement or melting accent, sounds out upon him from the cold printed page; while the loveliness or deformity of act or word escapes not his inspection. And out of all this breadth and union of powers arise the excellence and scope of his critical ability. We have spoken of him as a critic, and we think not with extravagant, but just commendation. What he would produce in the field of purely original composition, and separated from the direct support of this noble company of authors which he frequents, he has yet, notwithstanding many a paragraph of vigorous writing in his volumes, fully to demonstrate. Indeed, having shown such manifold appreciation of others in their literary attempts of every sort, and succeeded so uniformly well in presenting the ideal at which they should aim, we hope he will undertake some larger work, to which a grateful criticism will do the justice of that "measure" with which he has "meted" his awards.

We should wish to accompany and verify our remarks with examples from the book whose title we have given. So many passages strike the eye it is hard to choose, and in fact we think it unsatisfactory to rend sentences in such writings from their place as specimens of a symmetrical work.

To prove by the best testimony, and in the briefest space, both the range of our author's resources, and the certainty of his touch, we will cite a single sentence from the third Lecture, on Wit and Humor:—

"The mere mention of a few of the great wits and humorists of the world will show the extent of the subject, viewed simply in its literary aspect; for to Mirth belong the exhaustless fancy and sky-piercing buffooneries of Aristophanes; the matchless irony of Lucian; the stern and terrible satire of Juvenal; the fun-drunken extravagances of Rabelais; the self-pleased chuckle of Montaigne; the farcical caricature of Scarron; the glowing and sparkling verse of Dryden; the genial fun of Addison; the scoffing subtilties of Butler; the aerial merriment of Sterne; the

hard brilliancy and stinging emphasis of Pope ; the patient glitter of Congreve ; the teasing mockery of Voltaire ; the polished sharpness of Sheridan ; the wise drolleries of Sydney Smith ; the sly, shy, elusive, ethereal humor of Lamb ; the short, sharp, flashing scorn of Macaulay ; the careless gayety of Béranger ; the humorous sadness of Hood ; and the comic creations, various almost as human nature, which have peopled the imaginations of Europe with everlasting forms of the ludicrous, from the time of Shakspeare and Cervantes to that of Scott and Dickens."

What an amount and labyrinthine reach of reading in a single line of the great sphere of knowledge, with what a firm and steady appreciation of the subordinate kinds under one species of talent, are here implied, though hidden and almost disparaged by the full and rapid stream in which so many just distinctions and unchangeable epithets, with perfect lightness and careless, spontaneous ease, flow on !

We are tempted, also, to insert here the introductory paragraph of the second Lecture, on Novels and Novelists, in illustration of Mr. Whipple's own wit and humor, and moreover for the sake of the keen morality it insinuates in respect to the cardinal virtue of truth-acting, leaving the propriety of the practices in question to be argued on independent grounds.

"Much has been said and written on the uses and abuses of fiction. Novel-writing and novel-reading have commonly been held in low estimation by grave and sensible people, or rather by people whose gravity has been received as the appropriate garment of sense. Many are both amused, and ashamed of being amused, by this class of compositions ; and, accordingly, in the libraries of well-regulated families, untouched volumes of history and philosophy glitter on prominent book-shelves in all the magnificence of burnished bindings, while the poor, precious novel, dog's-eared and wasted as it may be by constant handling, is banished to some secret but accessible nook, in order that its modest merit may not evoke polite horror. It thus becomes a kind of humble companion, whose prattle is pleasant enough when alone, but who must be cut in genteel company. And thus, many a person whose heart is beating hard in admiration of Mr. Richard Turpin's ride to York, or whose imagination is filled with the image of Mr. James's solitary horseman slowly wending up the hill, still in public vehemently chatters on subjects with which he has no sympathy, and on books which he has never read."

Mr. Whipple's wit and humor are admirable traits in the

composition and balance of his own mind. For, hearty and rugged as they are, swift and decisive in their strokes, yet, if we mistake not, they cover and protect an exceeding tenderness of nature, maintaining in health the most delicate emotions, by the quick sense of whatever is excessive or ludicrous, marking the impassable line of the feelings, and guarding against shafts a sensitive bosom, as with a steel coat of mail. Well is it when the sharp wit of the head, instead of being envenomed and urged by the malignant passions, is tempered and checked by the kindly humor rising from the heart. If some arrows are thus withheld, others are more surely sped !

But we must hasten to select a specimen from Mr. Whipple's essays, in a department where we think he also evinces singular felicity. We mean logical or rather psychological analysis. With the other extracts which we give, we think it will justify all we have said of him in our general remarks. We choose the ninety-first and ninety-second pages of the volume, containing a description by contrast of that very Wit and Humor, the whole breadth of whose gradations and slightest subtilty of whose distinctions he delineates in others, while he displays a peculiar racy quality of them in himself.

"Wit was originally a general name for all the intellectual powers, meaning the faculty which kens, perceives, knows, understands ; it was gradually narrowed in its signification to express merely the resemblance between ideas ; and lastly, to note that resemblance when it occasioned ludicrous surprise. It marries ideas, lying wide apart, by a sudden jerk of the understanding. Humor originally meant moisture, a signification it metaphorically retains, for it is the very juice of the mind, oozing from the brain, and enriching and fertilizing wherever it falls. Wit exists by antipathy ; Humor by sympathy. Wit laughs *at* things ; Humor laughs *with* them. Wit lashes external appearances, or cunningly exaggerates single follies into character ; Humor glides into the heart of its object, looks lovingly on the infirmities it detects, and represents the whole man. Wit is abrupt, darting, scornful, and tosses its analogies in your face ; Humor is slow and shy, insinuating its fun into your heart. Wit is negative, analytical, destructive ; Humor is creative. The couplets of Pope are witty, but Sancho Panza is a humorous creation. Wit, when earnest, has the earnestness of passion, seeking to destroy ; Humor has the earnestness of affection, and would lift up what is seemingly low into our charity and love. Wit, bright, rapid, and blasting as the lightning, flashes, strikes,

and vanishes in an instant; Humor, warm and all-embracing as the sunshine, bathes its objects in a genial and abiding light. Wit implies hatred or contempt of folly and crime, produces its effects by brisk shocks of surprise, uses the whip of scorpions and the branding-iron, stabs, stings, pinches, tortures, goads, teases, corrodes, undermines; Humor implies a sure conception of the beautiful, the majestic, and the true, by whose light it surveys and shapes their opposites. It is a humane influence, softening with mirth the ragged inequalities of existence, promoting tolerant views of life, bridging over the spaces which separate the lofty from the lowly, the great from the humble. Old Dr. Fuller's remark, that a negro is 'the image of God cut in ebony,' is humorous; Horace Smith's inversion of it, that the taskmaster is 'the image of the devil cut in ivory,' is witty. Wit can coexist with fierce and malignant passions; but Humor demands good feeling and fellow-feeling, — feeling not merely for what is above us, but for what is around and beneath us. When Wit and Humor are commingled, the result is a genial sharpness, dealing with its object somewhat as old Izaak Walton dealt with the frog he used for bait, — running the hook neatly through his mouth and out at his gills, and in so doing 'using him as though he loved him'! Sydney Smith and Shakspeare's Touchstone are examples."

For our proper selves we honestly confess to a perhaps weak shrinking from this last illustration, which we doubt not is somehow curiously happy, and therefore leave, as we suppose our author does, to the many who, like gentle-hearted old Izaak Walton himself, can fully appreciate, or, with an innocent and cordial delight in all the means appertaining, be absorbed in the piscatorial art.

One more passage we must copy, in celebration of the blessings we derive from books, as a voucher of the lofty strain of eloquence which is at the command of our author's pen.

"We walk, in imagination, with the noblest spirits, through the most sublime and enchanting regions, — regions which, to all that is lovely in the forms and colors of earth,

'add the gleam,
The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration and the poet's dream.'

A motion of the hand brings all Arcadia to sight. The war of Troy can, at our bidding, rage in the narrowest chamber. Without stirring from our firesides, we may roam to the most remote regions of the earth, or soar into realms where Spenser's shapes

of unearthly beauty flock to meet us, where Milton's angels peal in our ears the choral hymns of paradise. Science, art, literature, philosophy, — all that man has thought, all that man has done, — the experience that has been bought with the sufferings of a hundred generations, — all are garnered up for us in the world of books. There, among realities, in a 'substantial world,' we move with the crowned kings of thought. There our minds have a free range, our hearts a free utterance. Reason is confined within none of the partitions which trammel it in life. The hard granite of conventionalism melts away as a thin mist. We call things by their right names. Our lips give not the lie to our hearts. We bend the knee only to the great and good. We despise only the despicable; we honor only the honorable. In that world no divinity hedges a king, no accident of rank or fashion ennobles a dunce or shields a knave. There, and almost only there, do our affections have free play. We can select our companions from among the most richly gifted of the sons of God, and they are companions who will not desert us in poverty, or sickness, or disgrace. When every thing else fails, — when fortune frowns, and friends cool, and health forsakes us, — when this great world of forms and shows appears a 'two-edged lie, which *seems* but *is* not,' — when all our earth-clinging hopes and ambitions melt away into nothingness,

' Like snow-flakes on a river,
One moment white, then gone for ever,' —

we are still not without friends to animate and console us, — friends, in whose immortal countenances, as they look out upon us from books, we can discern no change; who will dignify low fortunes and humble life with their kingly presence; who will people solitude with shapes more glorious than ever glittered in palaces; who will consecrate sorrow and take the sting from care; and who, in the long hours of despondency and weakness, will send healing to the sick heart, and energy to the wasted brain."

A noble tribute, in which a universal truth is evidently uttered out of the heart of personal experience. It might almost seem as though the departed sovereigns who have ruled in the kingdom of ideas might hear the praises in which only our everlasting obligations to them can be paid; and if their dust do not, as has been fancied, stir at the echo, yet even their heavenly faces brighten, and their own anthems swell and deepen to the Inspirer of their imperishable thoughts.

Many passages equalling and perhaps more excellent than those we have taken, might be transferred from this volume

to our pages. But we must stop. Mr. Whipple's style, while marked by signal merits, we think, might occasionally with advantage be chastened by a taste somewhat more cautious and severe. There is in it a reckless and gay exuberance, sometimes pressing to the verge of literary decorum, and perilling the load of good sense it conveys. This adventurous mood, the hazarding of smart hits, and running risks of expression and illustration, to capture at once the understanding, and by quick sallies carry along the sympathy of those addressed, may have arisen from the circumstance that these Lectures were prepared simply for popular use. But they moreover show a wide mastery of our language, a precision of terms, a copiousness of speech, and even that fine intermingling of classic grace, of foreign and exotic beauty with the native force of the Saxon idiom, which could have been attained only by a sagacity piercing, without the ordinary aids to this end, through the obvious resources of the mother tongue into the secrets of its derivation and the richness of its roots.

We have the more willingly given some space in our pages to an examination of the qualities displayed in a literary work, because of the close relationship between literature and religion. The author's pen, in every legitimate use of it, we consider friendly to our highest sentiments. Thought itself is the neighbour and ally of piety, and its communication so as to excite men to think will always awaken the sense of spiritual relations. The missionary finds some degree of civilization and refinement needful to open the way for the application of Gospel truth ; to the same end knowledge and reflection must illumine the heathen ignorance and soften the barbarous manners which are confined to no far continent or lonely, savage island of the sea. A sound literature, like the Jewish law, is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. Religion has indeed her own province, which must not be confounded with other provinces ; but neither must it be insulated and cut off from, but joined to them. Hers is not a peculiar and separate circle of existence, alien from and unconformable to ordinary life, but an arc whose law continues it into the whole appointed course of human action. Poetry, philosophy, and true fiction are not her foes, but her own kin, her younger sisters, whose dress of language in all its variety and splendor she wears, as well as in its more plain and sober colors. Rhetoric is *her* spokesman too, and never so eloquent as in

her behalf. To her wisdom imagination gives wings, to her spirituality fancy lends a shape, and even wit and irony have a place among her thunders of conscience and jubilees of praise. The press in every honest and decent motion is her servant; and every book, that should be read at all, enters her plea. For all earnest meditation, which the profoundest treatise or the simplest narrative of facts should arouse, emancipates men from low desires and petty cares, is an extinguisher of sensual lusts, a subduer to lay the threatening and violent ghosts of the passions, and an emancipator delivering men from that consuming thirst for gain and vulgar ambition of office with which our own country is greatly afflicted.

We are aware it is not of all that passes under the name of religion, but only of a liberal and rational religion, that this description holds good. It is not true of religion as a pompous form, as a technical creed, or as a degrading and vindictive superstition, — which are but false changelings or base impostors passing under her name; but only of religion as a living “spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.” And it is matter of rejoicing and thankfulness, that literature is the enemy of those hollow ceremonials, tyrannic dogmas, and servile fears, which have so often been the “abomination,” standing where they ought not, “in the holy place” of the heart’s altars. It is reason for thanksgiving, that whatever other triumphs a gloomy theology and ecclesiastic despotism have won, the fortresses of the world’s best learning and wit and genius hold out against them, and can never be reduced to their sway. Intelligence is the deadly and invincible antagonist of all imposition on human credulity or usurpation of human rights. The friends of just and reasonable views of God and our relation to him, under whatever denomination standing, may take courage on seeing themselves backed by an ever multiplying auxiliary host, bearing arms of celestial temper, arms that still strike for the right after they who forged them on earth are dead.

This harmony of which we have spoken, between literature and religion, arises from the inward harmony, in its true development, of man’s whole nature. On the supposition that this nature is essentially discordant and diseased in its fundamental faculties, of course it can have no development but what is vicious and evil, and religion must be at war with all its unfolding in connection with this world. All

action, genius, art, and speculation must be born into natural antipathy with it. On the contrary, we believe that where our nature is brought out fairly in a proportionate and orderly way, according to the original innate dignity of its faculties, and under the proper influences which Providence appoints, there will be no such jarring, but agreement. We must, after all, steadily adhere to and maintain our old ground, that the nature of man as the gift and inspiration of God is, however imperfect, like all his other works, good. So far as, contrary to man's whole nature, wrong inclinations are allowed to predominate, his state and the claims of religion become mutually incompatible and exclusive. And from this abnormal and really unnatural condition, which may be connected with much worldly information and science, springs up of course a base and poisonous growth in the field of letters. The ivy and the upas grow out of as kindly a soil as do the rose and the palm-tree. There is much literature which is not like sweet flowers and nutritious fruit, but like the "juice of cursed hebenon," in the "porches" of our "ears a leprous distilment," and the touch of deadly night-shade. The idea often set forth of a true literature is of that in which every thing pertaining to human life or the soul's inner experience should find expression. Goethe is praised for this universal representation he made of all that he saw or felt. But not every object, thought, or feeling should be represented, any more than every seed or plant should be cultivated. In regard to many things, it is bad enough they should exist once by perverted nature, without being reproduced as the glory of art. Or if, for the sake of warning, they are thus held forth again, they should be, as not always in the page of Goethe and other famous names beside, in a light that will show vice a "monster of horrid mien," and "virtue in her shape how lovely." So does the Bible represent every thing it admits in the light of truth, the point of view of the righteous and holy law of God. And so should every author beware of his *point of view*.

It gives us pleasure to note, in the work which we have taken occasion to commend, great purity, every leaf clear of blot, without affectation or the over-nice show of delicacy, and still more an unequivocal reverence for all the nobler sentiments, for every manifestation of the benevolence, devotion, and religious faith of the human soul. It is unspeakably important that this great fellowship, this noble guild of

learning, should be throughout so inspired. There is not wanting in the literature of the day a profane and unbelieving section. When a man has cast out the Christian belief from its authority over his heart and life, the consequences will appear in his writings, as well as in his deeds and spoken words. The pride and scorn, the impiety and conceit of superiority that nestle within, will fly forth in all these winged messengers from his heart, and the Marah in his breast flow out in his utterance and sprinkle his page. Every thing in life and character sinks into meanness and pollution at his touch. The writer who would meet the ever weightier responsibilities of using especially this English speech must be imbued with the spirit of religion. Believing firmly in our human constitution as God's great boon to us, we do not believe it can be safe, or happy, or fruitful of wholesome knowledge or influence, save as it is subjected to the law God has ordained. Religion is not every thing to man, but it is the principal thing, the one thing especially needful. He is partial and narrow, who, as has been said of the great Jonathan Edwards, can talk of nothing but religion; but he is mad and wicked who shuts it out from his thoughts or his lips. As we walk in the light of the sun without gazing ever in the direction of its orb, so should we be always in the service of God, though not for ever making him the immediate and only object of contemplation. We should accept all the vital and glorious means and agents by which he trains and would perfect us, — letters and friendship, domestic love and active life, religion being eldest in the band, but all owning their equal origin in one great Parent, in whose worship and according to whose will they are severally governed and obediently joined.

The literary author should especially rejoice to come into these so advantageous terms of connection and reciprocity with the Christian revelation. For truly has this made good the significance of its title, in unveiling and, to human view, widening the domain of knowledge. Its teachings have not, as some, in a supercilious self-reliance, fancy, been the clog, but rather the unfettering of the human mind. Its words, holding their heavenly flame through their version into every tongue, have put a kindling zeal into all human dialects. Its miracles have not shut up the universe against the researches of human science, but opened a door into the depths of God's power, and quickened mysterious expectations of its

future displays. How much lofty reflection its fixed, but living principles have aroused ! How much poetic beauty and splendor its promises, and the ineffably sublime objects it discloses, have suggested ! How much toil of meditation and perseverance of spiritual progress have its inbreathings of immortality cheered and sustained ! How it has furnished the chief enlargement to the intellectual life of the world ! What blessed fruits of learning and genius, our best possession, would be at this moment wanting to us, but for its unstinted bounty ! Take it away, were such a thing possible, and how again the mists of ignorance and error would speedily close in around us, and our path be confused and darkened ! We should have indeed the freedom of speculation some are so charmed with, but it would be freedom to wander and be lost. Our unyoked passions would have freedom, too, to hurry us in their license to our ruin. For the clear vision of faith we should have the dull obscurity of conjecture, for mysteries made known mysteries only to defy and baffle us, while mystical clouds would, as they must, hover round, only not, as now, filled and transpierced with the glorious light of eternity. Life would be an ocean still, but, indeed, like the old tossing ocean to which we resemble it, before a chart had been drawn, or the compass invented, or the termination of a voyage over the waste of waves understood, but all was darkness, and danger, and fear, and unfathomable doubt.

Let the scholar and the Christian, then, rejoice in their common sources of light and inspiration. One fire burns, one fountain flows, for them both. It will be a blessed time when the heavenly blaze shall cast its lustre upon every strong influential intellect, and the water of life make its fertilizing way into every region of human thought. Then every author will be a preacher, every book a missionary, the evangelization of the world over isle and continent proceed rapidly, the holy dream of the millennium be realized, and the kingdom of God come.

C. A. B.

ART. V.—THE MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF EDUCATION.*

WE propose, in this article, to present a view of the recent movements of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in reference to the cause of education, and of the results that have been reached, and more particularly to notice the labors and services of the late Secretary of the Board of Education.

It is well known throughout the civilized world, indeed, that the most marked peculiarity in the primitive organization of the social fabric in the New England States, as compared with the origin of all other communities, was the prominence given to education. It was not only the corner-stone, but the basement story of the whole structure. The hope of the Pilgrims was, that knowledge and learning might not be buried in their graves, but for ever perpetuated and diffused among their descendants. The rude and desolate land was to be made fruitful and beautiful by sparkling waters, gushing from the rock in the wilderness smitten by the hand of instruction. Provisions for the education of the rising generation illuminate the statute-book from its earliest to its latest pages. But it was not by the force of law alone that the great interest was sustained. It was the ever-cherished object of—that without which laws are powerless and worse than useless—the public affections, and the deep-rooted convictions of the people. The first settlers of Massachusetts had, many of them, tasted the luxuries of learning in the old country; and while they knew that they could not rear in the American forests colleges and universities to be compared with the venerable and richly adorned halls and libraries they had left behind, their hopes and solitudes for their posterity found refuge in the schools to which their number, means, and circumstances were adequate, and with an honorable pride they determined through them to secure the wide and universal diffusion of knowledge to an extent that had not been dreamed of in other lands. This was within their power. They resolved to accomplish it. All worked together in executing the noble purpose,—governors, magistrates, legislators, ministers, philanthropists, and patriots,—every parent and every voter,—the old and the young. The school-

* *Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Twelfth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 155.

house, its location, its erection, its repairs, and its equipments, — the school, its instruction, its oversight and administration, its associations and its annals, — became incorporated, everywhere, with the daily thoughts and constant life of the whole people. Its opening and its close marked the successive seasons and the revolving years.

Had not such an interest taken early and lasting possession of the minds of the colonists, it is easy to see in how short a time prevailing ignorance would have enveloped the settlements, and have sunk them in the deepest barbarism. Among the original emigrants there was a large proportion of educated persons, and not a few who had shone in the universities, cathedrals, and more cultivated circles of the gentry, of the mother country. Soon they passed away, and not many came out to supply their places. As it was, a great decline is to be noticed in the standard of intelligence and civilization immediately consequent upon the disappearance of the first generation of New England. Notwithstanding the wise promptitude with which they kindled the taper lights of the humble village schools wherever their hamlets had encroached upon the wilderness, a general darkness is seen to have gathered gradually over the public mind, as the primitive luminaries, one by one, went out. It was, of course, long before the infant college could do any thing effectually to uphold the standard of learning, or to counteract the retrograde tendency of society. Had it not been for the schools, that retrograde tendency would have been accelerated, confirmed, and remediless. But they presented an opposing front, which, although borne back for a time, checked the downward progress, and saved the land from utter darkness. They shone like stars through the night, and by their constant, thickening, pervading, and ever-kindling radiance, at last ushered in a day of knowledge that will never more expire.

The demands of public sentiment were enforced and fully carried out by careful and well-defined provisions of law. The whole people were required to participate in the burden, and it was designed that all should share in the benefit. Neither poverty, nor distance, nor insensibility to the privilege, was permitted to lose or to avoid the influence. It is obvious that the whole system rests upon the assumption, that ignorance is dangerous to society, and knowledge favorable to its order, safety, and welfare. On this ground the Commonwealth claimed a right to exercise its power over the in-

dividual, controlling and assessing him for the support of the institution. On the same ground, up to a very recent period, the government exercised the power of enforcing upon the individual the support of religion. It was assumed that religion is favorable to order, and irreligion dangerous to society. The assumptions are sound and true in both cases. Society has as good a right to require all to contribute to support religion as to support schools, — a right that rests upon precisely the same grounds. In reference to religion, it has been decided, as the result of observation and experience, that it will be as effectually sustained by the natural operation of the laws of the mind, left to their voluntary action, as by the authority of the government. But this reasoning will not apply to education. The legislation of Massachusetts is based upon the supposition, that the public interest in education, however extensive, will be inadequate to its support, unless sustained and carried out by the power of the government. This is, undoubtedly, a correct supposition, and fully justifies, and will — at least until society has made nearer approaches to the millennial period — require, the maintenance of schools by law. With this right of the government to make education a public burden and charge, there is a corresponding obligation upon the government to extend its influence to the entire rising generation. When the government demands and receives the money of its individual subjects for the support of schools, it must be regarded as entering into a contract, binding it not to allow ignorance to exist in any minds. It says to the individual, "Ignorance is dangerous to the State, to the property and welfare of all ; — give me your money, and I will secure you against ignorance by removing it entirely." This pledge the government does not fulfil, if it allows any portion of the people, however small, to fail to experience the salutary influence of knowledge ; — justice and reason require, if education be made a public charge, that it be universal. To educate a part only of the people, for the purpose of saving society from the perils of ignorance, would be acting like the wisecracks who, having been employed to remove the powder from under the Parliament-House, when presenting themselves for payment, and being asked whether they had taken the whole away, answered, "No ; we have removed twenty barrels, and suppose the other five can do no harm."

In accordance with these views, it has ever been the policy of the law to apply all possible inducements, and make use of

every expedient, short of actual force, to secure the attendance of all the children of the Commonwealth upon the schools. Non-attendance has not, as yet, been treated as a penal offence, and pursued by actual criminal prosecution, although there is an evident tendency of public sentiment in that direction. It is getting to be perceived, that, upon the principles above stated, by which the public justifies itself in taking the property of individuals to sustain education, it is difficult to show how it can escape the obligation to enforce a universal attendance upon schools by the utmost power of the law. Very careful and thorough inquiries and explorations, recently made by persons deeply interested in the moral and philanthropic movements of our day, have disclosed the startling fact, that in the city of Boston itself there are some twelve hundred children and youth growing up without any education. The law, meantime, is yearly extorting from the pockets of the tax-payers of this city an immense sum, on the ground that ignorance is dangerous, and that society has a right to take private property for the purpose of securing the public against the danger. If, after receiving the money for this purpose, it allows ignorance to prevail to such an extent, it is surely open to the charge of failing to meet its obligations. Its pledge is not redeemed. The promised consideration is withheld. Private property is taken for public purposes, and those purposes are not accomplished. When general attention is called to the subject, it will, undoubtedly, be felt that justice, reason, and the public welfare require that the law, acting in a sterner form than it has yet assumed, should compel attendance upon school. Its force ought to be as directly, as impartially, and as inexorably put forth in gathering the children into the school-house, as it is in compelling all to contribute towards the cost of its erection and the expenses of instruction in it. This is, we repeat, fast becoming the public sentiment. Movements already are made to procure the enactment of laws rendering truancy a criminal offence, and making habitual absence from school, without any lawful and regular occupation, between six and fifteen years, punishable by fine or imprisonment. Until this is done, the Commonwealth will not be able to say that she is safe from the perils of ignorance, and that all her children have the key and the lamp of knowledge placed in their hands, to open the avenues, and guide them in the paths, of wisdom.

While we are looking forward to still higher results from our common school system, when thus fully developed, it is impossible to over-estimate the beneficial effects that have flowed from it, in its past stages, however imperfect its organization or authority. Those effects have been constant and incalculable. Her common schools have made Massachusetts what she is, and enabled her to play her great part in the political and social history of America.

The utter failure of all revolutions of government from a monarchical to a republican form, with the single exception of the United States of America, is a lesson of history more lamentably and shamefully corroborated by the recent examples of Italy, Hungary, the German States, and, worse than all France, in which the cry of "Vive la Republique!" is the mere password by which successive usurpers betray the hopes of liberty. Were it not for the solitary example of this country, the conclusion would seem to be established as an absolute principle, that free institutions are impracticable. Here, and here only, has success crowned the struggle for liberty. Now, when it is remembered that nearly three tenths of all the troops engaged in the Revolutionary war were drawn from this State, and when we consider how long the scales hung even, how narrow was the deliverance of the American cause, all must be prepared to admit, that the moral energies which an intelligent training contributed to the sons of Massachusetts decided the issue of the conflict. The "light artillery" that "saved the day" in the great battle of American freedom were the common schools of New England.

This was the opinion of the wisest men of that day. The successful termination of the war of American independence arrested universal attention, and excited a profound interest throughout the civilized world. A French writer of distinction addressed a letter to John Adams, then residing in Europe, stating that he proposed to publish a history of the British American colonies, and of the war of their Revolution, and suggesting that any advice or aid it might be convenient for him to render would be most gratefully received. Mr. Adams, in reply, expressed his gratification that his country was honored by the favorable notice of intelligent minds in the Old World, and particularly that its history was to be written by so able and eloquent a pen. He then went on and marked out a course of preparation for the adequate

discharge of the functions of its historian, which could not but have been truly formidable to his correspondent. Among other things, he represented that a continued residence, for a considerable period, in America, a familiar converse with its people, and particularly a visit to the several capitals of the States, for a personal and careful examination of their archives, would be absolutely necessary, in order to do justice to the subject. In this document, most characteristic of its author, and pervaded by his wisdom and depth and grasp of thought, he said, that, to understand the rudiments of the American Revolution, one must make himself a master of four leading institutions, by which, more than by all things else, the people had been enabled to achieve their independence, — the TOWN, the CONGREGATION, the MILITIA, and the SCHOOL. Every reflecting person will read, in these four words, the character and the history of the New England States. Of the four, the last is evidently the deepest and the most potent in its operation. Without the school, the town-meeting would not have trained the people in self-government, and the discreet and efficient use of political power; the congregation could not have appreciated the learning and the logic by which the pupil, sustained by an intelligent community, lifted that intelligence higher and higher; and the sword could only have been safely trusted to men who could also maintain their rights by argument, and who knew their duties as well as their rights.

The universal diffusion of the elements and the means of knowledge not only qualified the people for independence, but aided essentially in repairing the injuries inflicted upon the social and moral condition of the country by the depressing influences of a protracted, exhausting, and exasperating war. And the gradual, and of late sensibly accelerating, refinement and consolidation of civilization in this Commonwealth, from that day to this, are mainly owing to the degree to which popular education has been fostered and promoted by the public sentiment and the law.

It is not our purpose to narrate the details of the legislative history of Massachusetts, relating to this paramount interest. Its sum and substance are condensed in the first ten sections of the twenty-third chapter of the Revised Statutes, as follows:—

“Sec. 1. In every town, containing fifty families or householders, there shall be kept in each year, at the charge of the

town, by a teacher or teachers of competent ability and good morals, one school for the instruction of children in orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and good behaviour, for the term of six months, or two or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to six months.

"Sec. 2. In every town, containing one hundred families or householders, there shall be kept in each year one such school, for the term of twelve months, or two or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to twelve months.

"Sec. 3. In every town, containing one hundred and fifty families or householders, there shall be kept in each year two such schools, for nine months each, or three or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to eighteen months.

"Sec. 4. In every town, containing five hundred families or householders, there shall be kept in each year two such schools for twelve months each, or three or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to twenty-four months.

"Sec. 5. Every town, containing five hundred families or householders, shall, besides the schools prescribed in the preceding section, maintain a school, to be kept by a master of competent ability and good morals, who shall, in addition to the branches of learning before mentioned, give instruction in the history of the United States, book-keeping, surveying, geometry, and algebra; and such last-mentioned school shall be kept for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the town, ten months at least, exclusive of vacations, in each year, and at such convenient place, or alternately at such places, in the town as the said inhabitants at their annual meeting shall determine; and, in every town containing four thousand inhabitants, the said master shall, in addition to all the branches of instruction before required in this chapter, be competent to instruct in the Latin and Greek languages, and general history, rhetoric, and logic.

"Sec. 6. Any town, containing less than five hundred families or householders, may establish and maintain such a school as is first mentioned in the preceding section, for such term of time, in any year, or in each year, as they shall deem expedient.

"Sec. 7. It shall be the duty of the president, professors, and tutors of the university at Cambridge, and of the several colleges, and of all preceptors and teachers of academies, and all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavours to impress on the minds of children and youth, committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal

benevolence, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation, and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society, and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavour to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a republican constitution, and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices.

"Sec. 8. It shall be the duty of the resident ministers of the Gospel, the selectmen, and the school committees, in the several towns, to exert their influence, and use their best endeavours, that the youth of their towns shall regularly attend the schools established for their instruction.

"Sec. 9. The several towns are authorized and directed, at their annual meetings, or at any regular meeting called for the purpose, to raise such sums of money, for the support of the schools aforesaid, as they shall judge necessary; which sums shall be assessed and collected in like manner as other town taxes.

"Sec. 10. The inhabitants of every town shall, at their annual meeting, choose, by written ballots, a school committee, consisting of three, five, or seven persons, who shall have the general charge and superintendence of all the public schools in such town."

About the time, but shortly before the date, of the Revised Statutes, (1836,) a new impulse was given to the cause of common schools in this State, and a course of measures adopted for their elevation, of which the results, now beginning to develop themselves, are destined to transcend any expectations that have yet been indulged. That impulse it is the chief design of this article to trace towards its sources, and follow in its operation.

The political experience of this country has revealed a tendency, against which resistance is unavailing, to place and commit all the interests and hopes of society into the hands of the sovereign people. To this complexion all must come at last. No paper barriers, no legal fixtures, no prescriptive veneration, and no weight of authority can permanently withstand the tide of the popular will. It will bear down and sweep away all obstructions. As this truth opens upon the minds of men, all see that there is but one refuge. If no external force can control the will of the people, an in-

ternal control must be provided. The only safety of society is in the intelligence, thoughtfulness, and wisdom of the body of the people. Universal education must guide the hand of universal suffrage.

Such reflections as these, the final result of our political experience, took possession of the general mind, with a peculiar conviction, at the time to which we are referring. It became apparent, that, while much had been done to elevate the people, much more was required to be done to render them competent to exercise wisely the power that had passed irretrievably, and without control, into their hands. The law already made provision for the school-house, and the compensation of the teacher. In casting about to discover in what way the efficacy of the system might be heightened, it became the conviction of many minds, that the great point to be aimed at was to raise the character and qualifications of teachers. The idea of a school to prepare instructors for their work was suggested, and urged upon the public attention.

Among the earliest to awaken a new interest in the cause of education, and to give this direction to the thoughts of its friends, the late James G. Carter bore a leading part. His "Letters to the Hon. William Prescott, on the Free Schools of New England, with Remarks upon the Principles of Instruction," published in 1824, contributed effectually to originate a movement, which, in its more advanced stages, he was enabled, in a legislative and official capacity, to guide towards its consummation. His name will ever be honorably associated with the cause of education in Massachusetts.

The first prominent indication that the efforts to awaken new and deeper interest in the common schools of the State had not failed of success, was the establishment of the "Massachusetts School Fund," by an act of the legislature of 1834, which, as reenacted in the Revised Statutes, is as follows : —

"Sec. 13. All moneys and stocks in the treasury, on the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, which shall have been derived from sales of the Commonwealth's lands in the State of Maine, and from the claim of the Commonwealth on the government of the United States for military services, and which shall not be otherwise appropriated, together with one half of the moneys thereafter received from

the sale of lands in Maine, shall constitute a permanent fund, to be called the Massachusetts School Fund, for the encouragement of common schools, according to the provisions of the twenty-fourth chapter; provided, that said fund shall never exceed one million of dollars." — Chap. 11, Sec. 13, p. 94.

It has always been understood that the design of this fund was, not to relieve towns of the burden of the school tax, but to encourage and stimulate them to make that burden larger. So far as it has had this effect, it has been of great advantage, and it is the most imperative duty of the legislature to make such provisions of law as will secure to the fund this operation everywhere.

The next important stage of the recent educational movement in Massachusetts was the election of Edward Everett as Governor of the Commonwealth, in 1835. The elevation to the chair of state of the most finished example of intellectual cultivation it has produced was a circumstance in itself adapted to invigorate and heighten the general interest in the subject of education; and by his official services he fully discharged his obligations to the cause. During the winter of 1836, a memorial was presented to the legislature by the American Institute of Instruction, signed by George B. Emerson — from the beginning to this day one of the most efficient promoters of the educational movement in this State — and others. This memorial (Document No. 27 of the House of Representatives) was for the appointment of a "Superintendent of Common Schools." The Committee on Education brought in a bill for that purpose, backed by a report written by James G. Carter (Document No. 50 of that year). But no final action was had at that session in the matter.

In Governor Everett's address, at the opening of the legislative session, on the 12th of January, 1837, there was the following passage: — "While nothing can be farther from my purpose than to disparage the common schools as they are, and while a deep sense of personal obligation to them will ever be cherished, it must yet be candidly admitted, that they are susceptible of great improvements. The school-houses might in many cases be rendered more commodious. Provision ought to be made for affording the advantages of education, throughout the whole year, to all of a proper age to receive it. Teachers well qualified to give elementary instruction in all the branches of useful knowledge

should be employed ; and small school libraries, maps, globes, and the requisite scientific apparatus, should be furnished. I submit to the legislature, whether the creation of a board of commissioners of schools, to serve without salary, with authority to appoint a secretary, on a reasonable compensation, to be paid from the school fund, would not be of great utility. Should the legislature take advantage of the ample means now thrown into their hands greatly to increase the efficiency of the school fund, I cannot but think they would entitle themselves to the gratitude of the whole people. The wealth of Massachusetts always has been, and always will be, the mind of her children ; and good schools are a treasure a thousand fold more precious than all the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru."

A bill carrying out the recommendation of the governor, and establishing the Board of Education, was reported by the Committee on Education, of which Josiah Quincy, Jr. was then chairman, and became a law on the 20th of April, 1837. The board consists of eight persons, together with the governor and lieutenant-governor. The term of office is eight years, and the term of one member expires each year. The duty of the board is to "prepare and lay before the legislature, in a printed form, on or before the second Wednesday in January annually, an abstract of the school returns received by the Secretary of the Commonwealth," and they are authorized to appoint a secretary, "who shall, under the direction of the board, collect information of the actual condition and efficacy of the common schools, and other means of popular education, and diffuse as widely as possible, throughout every part of the Commonwealth, information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young." It is also made the duty of the board "to make a detailed report to the legislature of all its doings, with such observations as their experience and reflection may suggest, upon the condition and efficiency of our system of popular education, and the most practicable means of improving and extending it."

During the legislative session of 1838, the Secretary of the Board of Education, in a communication to the presiding officers of the two houses, made known, "that private munificence had placed at his disposal the sum of ten thousand dollars to promote the cause of popular education in Massa-

chusetts, on condition that the Commonwealth will contribute, from unappropriated funds, the same amount in aid of the same cause; the two sums to be drawn upon equally, from time to time, as needed, and to be disbursed under the direction of the Board of Education, in qualifying teachers for the common schools." The legislature forthwith, in a resolve dated April 19, 1838, complied with the proposal, by appropriating the sum required. From this union of private with public munificence the three Normal Schools of Massachusetts have sprung. They constitute a peculiar and most interesting feature of our present system. They are in satisfactory and successful operation, supplying teachers for the common schools, of a superior grade, and scattering among the towns and villages of the Commonwealth the elements of a high intellectual culture. The most minute, comprehensive, and thorough instruction in the branches of common school education is given, at the public expense, to persons of both sexes preparing to be teachers. The elements of knowledge are analyzed in their sources, and traced in their combinations. The young women who go forth from these institutions, after a few years, pass, as a matter of course, from the supervision of the summer schools to that highest post of instruction occupied by the wives and mothers of the land. The matured and ultimate influences of the normal schools—being thus in fact colleges for females, and sending their graduates into the families as well as schools of the Commonwealth—upon the civilization and refinement of the whole people will be beyond all that can now be imagined. They occupy a position, with the colleges above and the schools below them, that makes the pyramid of education perfect and complete.

The individual, then unknown, by whose noble provocation the State was instigated and drawn into the support of normal schools, was the late Edmund Dwight of Boston. He belonged to a class of men worthy of all honor for the beneficial influence they have, in every period, exerted upon the country,—the wealthy merchants and manufacturers of New England. He was an original member of the Board of Education, and a liberal and enlightened patron of the cause to the day of his lamented death. When the benignant influences of the normal schools are fully developed, and the whole series of Mr. Dwight's services and donations to the cause of education becomes matter of history, his

name, ever honored, will be cherished among those of the best benefactors of Massachusetts.

The Board of Education was organized in the Council-chamber, on the 29th of June, 1837. The governor was, of course, chairman, and Horace Mann was elected, by ballot, secretary. The novelty of the movement, the immense extent, diversity, complexity, and minuteness of the objects within its scope, the inadequacy of its powers and means, the vague and exaggerated expectations of wonderful results, to be reached at once, entertained by many of the most sanguine and busy friends of the cause, political jealousies, with the use made of them by intriguing partisans, and, more than all, sectarian opposition, embarrassed the board exceedingly during the earlier years of its operations, which were, besides, years of peculiar financial difficulty in the community at large. The value of the services of Governor Everett, under these disadvantageous and perplexing circumstances, cannot be over-estimated. He wrote the several annual reports of the board, and, as chairman of most of the sub-committees, he also discharged a great amount of labor, and bore the constant burden of responsible care. His indefatigable fidelity, his conscientious and enlightened prudence, his extraordinary discretion as a statesman, and his profound enthusiasm in the cause, were what the crisis absolutely needed. While justice to the secretary demands the tribute which we are about to render, it also requires us to acknowledge that no other hand, perhaps, than that which then held the helm of state, could have safely "piloted the little bark through the rough sea of jealousy and opposition."

But what, more than any or all things else during the administration of Governor Everett, contributed to the educational movement, was the appointment of HORACE MANN as Secretary of the Board of Education. As Mr. Dwight had borne such a prominent part in the whole transaction, and as their main reliance was on him, his associates naturally and properly followed his lead, and consulted his wishes. His modesty of deportment, and respectful regard for the wisdom of others, justified the influence conceded by his colleagues. He was convinced that every thing depended upon the selection of a suitable person for secretary of the board, and his thoughts first turned to the present President of Harvard University, Mr. Sparks. By pledging a very considerable annual allowance from his own funds, in addition to what the

board might be able to give, he made an offer to that gentleman corresponding to the great value of his time and services ; but other unavoidable engagements prevented its acceptance. Mr. Dwight then opened the subject to Mr. Mann, and, by a liberal pledge from his own purse towards his salary, he made it consistent with propriety for him to abandon his other pursuits and consent to assume the office, to which he was accordingly elected at the first meeting of the board.

Mr. Mann is, we believe, a native of the town of Franklin, in the county of Norfolk. He is a graduate of Brown University, where the story of his brilliant genius and unrivalled scholarship is among the most cherished traditions of the institution. He pursued the study of law in the celebrated school at Litchfield, in Connecticut, and finished his preparation for the practice in the office of Mr. Richardson, of Dedham. His talents and industry, with the political distinction early won, gave assurance of the highest success in his honorable and lucrative profession. In conjunction with the present Judge Metcalf, he was, in pursuance of a resolve of November 3d, 1835, appointed, by the presiding officers of the two houses of the legislature, to superintend the publication of the Revised Statutes, and to prepare marginal notes of reference to the sections, and an exact and copious index to the whole. An examination of the volume will show the amount of learning and labor required and exhibited in the performance of this service. For a period of ten years, he was a member of one or the other branch of the legislature, and in the year 1836, immediately preceding his appointment as Secretary of the Board of Education, was President of the Senate of Massachusetts.

But he hesitated not to abandon his professional prospects and political honors, and devote his life to a cause which, to a soul like his, capable of appreciating true greatness, had the strongest attractions. He preferred to spend and be spent in the service of the humble common and primary schools of his native State, to the triumphs of its bar or the chair of its Senate ; and the solid satisfaction and lasting glory he has won amply justify his choice. His intellectual energy and goodness, his fluent and glowing eloquence, his great comprehension of mind, enabling him to trace more clearly and broadly than other men the vast influence of education upon future generations and ever-widening circles, and the

prodigal richness of a creative and radiant imagination, lifting the vision from the imperfection of the present to that glorious future which education is destined to reveal, — these traits of mind were weapons, in the strength and temper of which he went forth to accomplish his work. He took the apathy, the indolence, and the prejudices of the people, as it were, by storm. Like another Luther, he roused them from their slumbers, and kindled a reformation whose fires are burning on every hill-top and in every valley of the State, and will never, we trust and believe, again be suffered to go out or grow dim.

But the best eulogium upon Mr. Mann's services, as Secretary of the Board of Education, is a plain, simple, and concise enumeration of his labors. During the first five years, he visited annually every county in the State, and most of the principal towns in each, examining schools, lecturing, meeting school conventions and teachers' associations, and conferring with active and leading friends of the cause. During the last three years, teachers' institutes also demanded his presence and coöperation. For the entire twelve years, his public addresses, of one kind or another, averaged as much as one a week, and he never spoke without giving utterance to an elaborate, highly wrought, and brilliant production. His mind always works with its whole power, and whatever subject he touches he grasps with fervid earnestness. His occupation in official duties averaged, for the twelve years, fifteen hours a day. He published twelve Annual Reports, eleven Abstracts of the Massachusetts School Returns, six of them large volumes, ten volumes of the Common School Journal, and a volume of Lectures on Education. These works were the result of an incredible amount of labor. The Annual Reports, besides the statistical matter especially appropriate to them, comprise a series of treatises upon all the principal topics of intellectual, moral, and physical education, most valuable in their substance and brilliant in their execution. They have been eagerly sought, and extensively circulated, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the Union, and in foreign countries. The call for them is so urgent, and proceeds from such quarters, that the last legislature authorized a reprint of ten thousand copies of "so much of the Tenth Annual Report as, with the requisite additions and alterations, will exhibit a just and correct view of the common school system of Massachusetts,

with the provisions of law relating to it." If Mr. Mann should have leisure to select from his several reports all that is of general interest and permanent value, taking as much as he might find expedient into a new draft or new shape, the compilation would be an invaluable and classical work on education, and one which the legislatures of this and of other States would do well to provide for every school-district within their limits. Mr. Mann's correspondence amounted to more than all his printed writings together. He was referred to for information and advice from a vast variety of sources at home and abroad, and on a vast variety of subjects, particularly on legal questions arising in the school department in any part of the Commonwealth. Besides all this, the institution, erection, and oversight of the normal schools, the preparation of school blanks and registers, and the examination of text-books and works for the Common School Library, made severally large exactions upon his time and thoughts. In the mean while, he was not allowed a clerk, and had no office or accommodations of any kind provided for him. During his service he went abroad, visited the institutions of education in the Old World, and sought for all the light that could be obtained in other countries, and the results of his observation were given in the Common School Journal; so that, while the public bore no part of the charge, it received the entire benefit of his travels. In addition to all these labors, he became involved officially in some uncomfortable and protracted controversies, — one with the editor of "The Christian Witness," through Edward A. Newton, Esq., another with the Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, and another with the "thirty-one Boston schoolmasters." The publications, on his part, to which these controversies gave rise, amount to a good-sized volume. While Secretary of the Board of Education, he delivered the oration, at the request of the municipal authorities of Boston, on the 4th of July, 1842, which was reprinted over and over again, and circulated, and is still circulating, in all parts of the Union, everywhere awaking the people to the supreme importance of education. It is a work too powerful in its statements, too brilliant in its composition, and too potent in its influence, to be omitted in the catalogue of its author's services.

When the voice of the people, in the Congressional district so long illustrated by the genius and heroism of the patriot Adams, summoned Horace Mann to represent them in

the national legislature, all acknowledged that he was the fittest person to take the place thus suddenly vacated, and his fellow-citizens, in parting with him in the service of the State, were reconciled to the event by the assurance, that his influence would be devoted to the diffusion through the nation, and to the establishment over its boundless territories, of those blessings of education he has done so much to perpetuate and multiply in his native Commonwealth.

The last legislature demonstrated the sense the people entertain of his services and worth by the honor of a renewed appointment to superintend the reprint of his Tenth Report, and by a grant of two thousand dollars, to remunerate him, in part, for his great personal sacrifices in the public cause. These measures passed unanimously, the latter after debate, in both houses.

In September, 1848, the Board of Education unanimously elected the Rev. Barnas Sears, D. D., of Newton, as the successor of Mr. Mann in the office of their secretary. Of him it is enough to say, that his great learning, his experience, and his high character fully justify the appointment. He is as remarkably adapted to conduct the educational administration of the Commonwealth, in this stage of its progress, as his predecessor was for his period of service. The traits of mind we have noticed in Mr. Mann led him to form a very exalted *beau ideal* of education, and his eloquence often indulged in the contrast between that ideal standard and the present condition of the schools, in such highly wrought strains as sometimes to produce an unfavorable effect. The suggestion occasionally arose, that present attainments were disparaged, and that what had been done was too much lost sight of, in the contemplation of what might and ought to be done. A feeling of dissatisfaction, amounting almost to despair, occasionally, in his mind, and in the minds he addressed, overclouded and overwhelmed that hopeful faith and cheerful assurance which are the very soul of enthusiasm. From this cause, the want of sympathy and partial alienation between Mr. Mann and a portion of the schoolmasters, and which finally exploded in a controversy just alluded to, in a great measure, probably sprung. The evil was a necessary incident of the very genius which fitted Mr. Mann for his great work, and while it produced a momentary collision, finally cured itself, and wrought great good in the end. The prudence, moderation of temperament, practical sagacity, pa-

tience, and perseverance of Dr. Sears will be found to be just what is wanted, and we predict a career of service most satisfactory to himself and beneficial to the public.

The legislature of 1849 is allowed, we believe, to have contributed its full share of benefit and patronage to the cause of education. It has taken the normal schools into a closer connection with the government, by directing the Committee on Education to visit them, and by an increased appropriation for their support. It has given to school-districts, and to undistricted towns and cities, unlimited discretion in taxing themselves for the purchase of libraries, and the necessary school apparatus. It has altered the ages upon which the school statistics are based, which before were "from 4 to 16," to "from 5 to 15," thus providing the data by which justly to estimate the extent to which the privileges of the common schools are actually enjoyed by the rising generation of the State, and from which more effectual provisions of law may be constructed and applied to diminish and remove what is the great obstacle to the full and complete operation of our system,—habitual absences, truancy, and entire non-attendance. But the great work of the last legislature in this department, and that which may be considered as crowning the movement in favor of the schools it has been the main purpose of this article to describe, was the law "relating to the State library," together with the law "in relation to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education." By these enactments, EDUCATION is made a DEPARTMENT of the administration and government of the Commonwealth, and the Secretary of the Board of Education is placed on a level with the heads of the state department, of the treasury, and of the militia,—the spacious and convenient apartments of the library are placed under his control, and appropriated to his uses, and he is provided with a clerk and all the necessary conveniences and allowances.

The work will undoubtedly go on with increased vigor from year to year. It has acquired a momentum that will overcome all obstructions and receive new impulses, from the law and the people, for ever. It is not for us to predict what favorable measures will next be adopted by the wisdom of the legislature. Probably, the school fund will be made to operate more effectually, and in greater accordance with the design of its establishment. More decisive measures will be taken to prevent ignorance from preparing any por-

tion of the young for crime, and to bring about the glorious day when it may be said, "Not a child can be found in Massachusetts into whose mind education has not opened a passage for truth and wisdom." And an enlightened, candid, impartial, and truly liberal spirit will bring the Commonwealth into just relations to all its institutions of learning, from the colleges to the infant schools.

C. W. U.

ART. VI.—THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.*

VOLTAIRE, elated by the rapid progress of infidel principles in his day, predicted, that, in the nineteenth century, the Bible would be known only as a relic of antiquity. In a few months, one half of the century will have passed ; and, from present indications, it does not appear probable that his prediction will be verified. A glance at the world, with reference to the interest now felt in the Bible, affords no reason for apprehension or discouragement. At the time when the sad prophecy was uttered, there were, it is supposed, but about five millions of Bibles in the world. Now, according to the best estimates, the number will not fall much short of fifty millions, and the interest lately manifested for the circulation of the sacred Scriptures finds no parallel in former times. The organization of Bible societies for the purpose of supplying, as far as practicable, the whole world with the record of Divine revelation, may be regarded as one of the noblest enterprises of modern times. Through their agency, millions of the human race have received the sacred volume, and many, we hope, have been thereby "made wise unto salvation."

The British and Foreign Bible Society may properly be regarded as the parent of all similar institutions now existing throughout the world. Some feeble attempts to establish Bible societies had previously been made ; but their opera-

* *History of the American Bible Society, from its Organization to the Present Time.* By W. P. STRICKLAND, one of the Society's Agents. With an Introduction by N. L. RICE, D. D., of Cincinnati. Embellished with a Likeness of the Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D., First President of the Society. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1849. pp. xxx. and 466.

tions and success were comparatively small. That society was formed in 1804, and has issued twenty millions of copies of the Bible. We do not propose, at this time, to dwell particularly on its history. There is one incident, however, connected with its operations on this continent, during the last war with Great Britain, which is worthy of being recalled. A very full account of the transaction is given by the Rev. J. Owen, in his *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. We are obliged to abridge the account to bring it within our limits.

In the month of June, 1813, a supply of Bibles and Testaments, destined by the British and Foreign Bible Society for the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, was captured by an American privateer, brought into Portland, and there sold and dispersed. As soon as this fact became known to the Bible Society of Massachusetts, a determination was taken, by the managers of that institution, to replace the value of the Bibles and Testaments; their secretary was directed to ascertain, by correspondence, to whom the amount of the property captured should be transmitted, and to express the regret of the Massachusetts Bible Society that such an occurrence had taken place. In the mean time, a subscription was opened at Boston, to raise a sufficient sum, without diverting the funds of the Massachusetts Bible Society from their regular object; and such was the eagerness manifested by the citizens of Boston to shake off from their country the disgrace of this transaction, that, in the course of a few days, double the sum required was contributed, and it might, as appears, have been easily increased to an almost indefinite amount. A sum sufficient to cover the cost of the Bibles and the expense of insurance was transmitted to the British and Foreign Bible Society, accompanied by a letter from the Rev. S. C. Thacher, of which the following is the conclusion: —

“ We have thus done what we can to express our shame and regret at this occurrence, and to repair the evil which it has occasioned. We indulge the hope that we shall not again have to number it among the calamities of a war in which we cannot cease to regret that two nations, allied in feelings, habits, interests, language, and origin, should be engaged, that it counteracts, in any degree, the exertions of any of the charitable institutions of Great Britain, or tends to loosen or break that golden chain of mutual benevolence, which ought to bind together the disci-

ples of Christ, of every nation and clime, without regard to political animosities." *

The Society whose history Mr. Strickland has just prepared is second only, of its kind, in the amount of its resources and the magnitude of its operations, to "The British and Foreign Bible Society." There is probably no other institution in the country whose history would interest so large a number of readers, of every party and sect, and of every degree of intellectual culture. All denominations of Christians, who make, or profess to make, the sacred Scriptures the ground of their faith, must desire to know something of the success which has attended the efforts to place the Bible in the hands of all who are capable of reading its pages. It was highly proper, therefore, that such a work should be prepared for the public; and the author's position, as one of the Society's agents, would seem to give him that interest in his subject, and that familiarity with the details which it involves, which are so necessary to the historian.

The American Bible Society was organized in May, 1816. A convention of delegates from different parts of the country assembled for the purpose, at New York. They represented various forms of Christian faith. It was the first time since the settlement of the country that the different religious denominations had been brought together for concerted action.

Mr. Strickland says:—

"They presented to the world a model of an evangelical alliance, having for its basis the true catholic doctrine,—*the Bible*,—God's revelation to man, the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice,—the right and duty of private interpretation. The great object for which they had assembled was, not to investigate its claims as a rule of faith, or to debate the question of the right of private judgment, but to enter at once upon the work of devising means for its universal circulation, without note or comment, among all nations, of whatever name, or country, or caste, or color, 'excluding, by its very nature, all local feelings, party prejudices, and sectarian jealousies.' They declared themselves 'leagued in that, and that alone, which calls up every hallowed, and puts down every unhallowed principle, the dissemination of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful where they may be required. In such a work,

* Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. II. p. 488.

whatever is dignified, kind, venerable, true, has ample scope, while sectarian littleness and rivalries can find no avenue of admission.' " — p. 30.

Notwithstanding the liberal spirit which called them together, there was, at one time, danger that a division might arise and frustrate the object of the meeting. Dr. Beecher, in a communication which he has furnished to Mr. Strickland respecting the origin of the Society, gives the following striking account of the matter : —

" There was but one short moment in our proceedings when things seemed to tangle, and some feelings began to rise. At that moment Dr. Mason [Rev John M. Mason, D. D., of New York] rose hastily, and said, 'Mr. President, the Lord Jesus never built a church but what the devil built a chapel close to it; and he is here now, this moment, in this room, with his finger in the ink-horn, not to write your constitution, but to blot it out.' This sudden address convulsed the convention with laughter, which in a moment dispelled the storm and revealed a clear sun, which instantly perceiving, he said, 'There! there! he has gone already to his blue brimstone.' " — pp. 26, 27.

The particular cause of the danger thus singularly and successfully removed is not stated. No other difficulty arose to interrupt the harmonious action of the Society, until the year 1835, when an unhappy collision with the Baptists, in relation to the rendering of the word βαπτίζω in the foreign translations, led to a division. The Baptists seceded, and organized the "American and Foreign Bible Society." We shall allude to this subject again in another place.

The American Bible Society has two separate objects to accomplish : — first, to extend the circulation of the commonly received English version in this country ; and secondly, to supply, as far as practicable, translations into the various spoken and written languages of the earth.

" The first field, both in regard to order and importance, in the estimation of the Society, in reference to occupancy and cultivation, was the *home field*. During the first year of the Society's operation, eleven thousand five hundred and fifty copies of the Bible were printed, and six thousand four hundred and ten copies were sent out from the Depository and distributed all over the country, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, carrying joy and gladness to the destitute in many desolate places." — p. 74.

The income of the Society has been steadily increasing, and the issue of Bibles has kept pace with this enlargement of its means. In 1848, the number printed was seven hundred and sixty thousand nine hundred. The number issued was six hundred and fifty-five thousand and sixty-six.

"Through its faithful allies, the auxiliaries, the Society has sent the Bible into every nook and corner of our land. It has circulated it in every State and Territory, in every county, and city, and village. In the Sabbath school and common school, in the college and seminary; in the hotel and asylum, and hospital and prison; among soldiers, and sailors, and slaves; on sea and on land, at home and abroad, everywhere has it, in its beneficence, sent the Gospel of salvation." — p. 80.

Notwithstanding the great, and, to some considerable degree, successful efforts of the Society to supply our country with the Bible, there is still room for further labor in this field. Mr. Strickland presents some facts in regard to Bible destitution which are likely to startle the reader. In the State of Virginia, he says there are fifteen thousand families destitute of the Scriptures.

"In Western Virginia, nearly one half of the white families were without the Bible, and this is put down as a low estimate by those who have made the exploration." — p. 296.

"[In] Ohio, the third State in the Union, filled with an active and enterprising population, second to none for her zeal in the promotion of schools and churches, and amongst the earliest in the Bible field, there is a destitution amounting to about one fifth of the families in the State." — *ib.*

"In Massachusetts, there are hundreds of families unblessed by the light of the written Word. Plymouth county, for ever consecrated as the spot where pilgrim feet were permitted for the first time to stand upon a free soil, was explored about three years since, and hundreds of families were found without the Bible. One would think this a fancy sketch, were it not sustained by cold New England facts." — p. 295.

Several other specific instances of Bible destitution are given, showing that much yet remains to be done in our own country. In a population of twenty-two millions, there are, according to our author, at the least calculation, one million five hundred thousand destitute to be supplied. Although the fact does not appear in the work, we presume that the greater part of these are foreign immigrants.

The constitution of the Society requires that its issue of English Bibles be confined to the version in common use, and generally known as King James's version. We shall have a remark to make by-and-by, qualifying the prevailing opinion which attributes to King James the suggestion and patronage of this version. This restriction, however, to a commonly acknowledged or standard version is a wise provision of the constitution. Though this version is far from being faultless, it is perhaps as good a one as could be agreed upon by those most interested in the circulation of the Bible. The proposition for a new version would be likely to lead to a controversy that would do more harm than good. Yet it appears to us, that some slight verbal alterations, not affecting any disputed doctrine, might be made by the general consent of the various denominations represented in the Society. The orthography and punctuation have sometimes been corrected, more truly to express the original meaning of a sentence. Why may not some verbal alterations be made for the same reason? We would not advise an alteration in any case, except where the present translation is obviously erroneous, or where the meaning of words has changed in the progress of time. Some words, not in common use at the present day, have been changed, by the English editors of the Bible, for others more easily understood, and the changes have been adopted in this country. We give a few instances. In Deuteronomy i. 11, for "moe," we have "more." Jeremiah xv. 7, "sith" is changed to "since." Luke i. 37, "unpossible" is altered to "impossible." Acts xxi. 11, "oweth" is altered to "owneth." Acts xxviii. 13, "fet" to "fetched." There are, however, many words still retained, which ought to be altered. Take, for instance, Exodus xxxviii. 8. No reasonable person could object to the substitution of "mirrors," for "looking-glasses." Yet this singular rendering has been continued through all the editions. The translators considered the terms synonymous. True, all looking-glasses are mirrors, but all mirrors are not necessarily looking-glasses. In this case the mirrors were of brass, and were used for the purpose of making the brazen laver: — "And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the *looking-glasses* of the women," &c. No one supposes that a miracle was performed in this case. Yet by the present rendering a miracle is required.

Another restriction in the constitution requires the copies of the Bible circulated by the Society to be "without note or comment." How far the retaining of the translators' statements of the contents of each chapter and the heading of the pages trespasses upon this provision, may admit of some difference of opinion. We wish they were entirely omitted; for they are not sufficiently expressive and accurate to be valuable as helps to the reader, they are very imperfect as summaries of the contents of the chapters, and in many cases they embarrass the sense, and pass unwarranted decisions on the doctrinal or historical meaning of some passages.

We have already intimated that King James has no just claims to be considered the originator or patron of this translation. He, in fact, had very little to do with it, except to *allow* it to be made and published. The credit of first proposing a new translation belongs to the Rev. Dr. John Reynolds, a Puritan divine of Oxford. The king merely acceded to the proposition, and accepted as satisfactory a list of persons named by others as translators. Robert Barker, the printer, paid the entire expenses attending the translation. Not a shilling came from the purse of King James or from the English treasury. When it was completed, no proclamation of the king or act of Parliament commanded the use of this version. It came into use gradually, and in less than half a century superseded the Genevan and Bishop's Bibles, which were at first its principal rivals.*

This version has attained a preëminence, in point of circulation, not only over all other translations of the Bible in every language, but over all other books. Between twenty and thirty millions of copies are now in circulation, according to the most reliable estimates. The sun in his circuit shines upon no land where this book is not known and read.

In England, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the royal printer in London, claim the exclusive right to print the authorized version of the Bible without note or comment. This odious monopoly has been the cause of considerable complaint; but all attempts to extend the privilege of printing the Bible have proved unavailing. Various expedients have been adopted to evade the penalty for infringing this prerogative. One of the most ingenious methods of doing this is the printing of one or two lines of notes

* Anderson's Annals, Vol. II. p. 384.

or comments at the extreme foot of the page. There being no restriction on Bibles published with a commentary, the printer thus escapes a fine. The Bible may be sold in sheets or boards, and the binder can, if he chooses, cut off these notes without injury to the volume. The exclusive prerogative was long claimed by the crown, on account of the supposed patronage originally extended to the translators by King James. The propriety of continuing this monopoly has been warmly advocated for another reason. It has been supposed, that, by thus limiting the number of authorized printers of the Scriptures, greater accuracy in printing would be secured. Notwithstanding the great care which has been exercised in this respect, many singular typographical errors have occurred at various times. In one of the early editions, the little, though important, word "not" was omitted in the seventh commandment. In another edition, the first verse of the fifty-third Psalm reads, — "The fool saith in his heart there is *a* God," instead of "*no* God." In an edition printed in 1819, by the king's printer, 1 Corinthians viii. 6 reads, — "to us *three* is but one God," instead of "*there* is but one God."

In 1638, an error occurred in printing Acts vi. 3, which was copied in several subsequent editions. The word "ye" was accidentally printed instead of "we." This apparently trifling error has sometimes been unjustly charged upon the Independents and Presbyterians, as a wilful corruption intended to favor their particular views of church government. The venerable presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States has recently revived this oft-refuted charge, and traced to its introduction a long list of deplorable consequences.* But his premises and conclusions have been proved to be false in every particular.

Great Britain did not allow the printing of the English Bible in this country whilst we were mere colonies. The first English Bible bearing an American imprint was published in 1782, within the memory of some persons now living.

The second object of the American Bible Society is to supply translations of the Bible for foreign lands, and for the various Indian tribes in our own country. This is by no means an easy work. Where satisfactory vernacular versions existed, they have been very properly adopted, and

* See "The Motto of Jubilee College, &c.," Vol. I. No. 7, May 22, 1849. [A reference is made to this matter in a subsequent page of this number. — Eds.]

editions of them have been printed or purchased for gratuitous distribution. But where a version is to be made for an Indian tribe with no written language, or a people whose language is but partially understood by the translator, the task is one of great difficulty, and, we cannot but think, of doubtful utility. It appears to us that quite too much stress has been laid on the importance of these translations. What a vast amount of precious time and talent was lost in the production of that monument of patience and zeal, Eliot's Indian Bible! Yet not a man living can now read its pages. If a tithe of the toil and expense bestowed on that volume had been spent in teaching the Indians the first rudiments of the English language, and the first principles of the Christian religion, more good would have been accomplished.

The difficulties attending the translation of the Bible into the modern Oriental languages are very great. With the utmost care, the translator cannot feel sure that he has selected the right words to express the sense of the original text. A protracted controversy, not yet concluded, between the translators and missionaries in China, shows the importance of a more thorough knowledge of the language before a translation of the Bible is made. One party maintains that the Hebrew word *Elohim* (God) has been rendered by a Chinese word, embracing not only the idea of the one true God, but also including numerous other lesser deities.

Rev. Mr. Malcom, in his visit to Asia, in the year 1836, discovered some singular instances of errors in the translation of the Bible. He says:—

“The anxiety for an immediate production of books has caused the publication of Scriptures and tracts so imperfect, as to be almost, if not quite useless, and in particular passages quite erroneous. To prove this, and at the same time show the sort of errors to which I allude, I will give a few instances which were mentioned to me, taken from distinct and different versions. John i. 1: ‘In the beginning was the word, and the word was with the Lord God Boodh, and the word was the Lord God Boodh.’ Exodus iii. 2: ‘The Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire, in the knot of a tree.’ Acts i. 8: ‘Ye shall receive the power of life and death.’ Matthew v. 3: ‘Blessed are the destitute of life.’ 1 Cor. v. 6. ‘A little crocodile crocodileth the whole lump!’”*

The most singular, if not the most ridiculous and absurd, attempt to adapt a version of the Scriptures to the capacities

* *Travels in Southeastern Asia*, Vol. II. p. 255.

of the ignorant, was made by the British and Foreign Bible Society when they printed a version of the New Testament for the English negroes in Surinam. These negroes have no distinct language, but speak what is called *Talkee-talkee*, a strange jingo, compounded of original African words, of clipped and softened English words, and of violently-treated Portuguese words. Their missionaries, the Moravians, instead of attempting to teach the negroes pure English, or Dutch, recommended and urged the Bible Society to print an edition of the New Testament from a manuscript version which had long been in use at Surinam, in the abominable *patois* spoken by the slaves. Great benefit was predicted to result to the missionaries and their converts from the undertaking, though the Society brought upon itself smart censures and much ridicule for the seemingly irreverent and ludicrous character of the volume which they published. It was very elegantly printed in octavo form, large type, in London, in 1829. Nearly all of the copies were transmitted to the people for whose use they were prepared, and their arrival and distribution among the negroes caused great excitement. A very few copies were retained in England, as bibliographical and philological curiosities, and they have now become very scarce. One of them was recently offered to the public, in London, at the sale of the library of the late Duke of Sussex, and was sold for three pounds ten shillings. Its original cost could not have exceeded two or three shillings.

We have a copy of this extraordinary volume of gibberish before us, and have looked it over for the purpose of finding a specimen which shall have in it nothing more offensive than what characterizes the whole of the work. The reader may form some just idea of what specimens might be selected when he is told that the word *virgin* is rendered, in this version, *wan njoe wendje*.

We will take a few verses from the benedictions, Matt. v. :—

“ 1. Ma teh Jesus si da piple, a go na wan bergi tappo, a go sidom, en dem discipel va hem kom klossibei na hem.

“ 2. En a hoppo hem moeffe, a leri dem, a takki :

“ 3. Boenne heddi va dem, dissi de poti na hatti : bikasi Gado-kondre de vo dem.

“ 4. Boenne heddi va dem, dissi de sari na hatti : bikasi hatti va dem sa koure.”

Which we may venture to translate half way back again into English as follows :—

"1. But when Jesus see the people, he go after one mountain-top, he go sit down, and them disciple for him come close by after him.

"2. And he open him mouth, and learn them, and talk :

"3. Good is it for them, these the pretty in heart, because God's country is for them.

"4. Good is it for them, these the sorry in heart, because heart for them so cheery."

Perhaps we should ask pardon of our readers for having thus given what may seem to some of them a burlesque of Scripture. But our purpose has been good. Is it wise for missionaries to repeat any labors which may seem to make any approach to these extreme examples of accommodating the Bible to the ignorance and barbarism of some of the objects of their evangelical efforts? Did not the pastor Oberlin take the better course when he taught pure French to the dwellers in the Ban de la Roche, instead of adopting their own *patois*?

It appears that the American Bible Society has already, at an expense of three hundred thousand dollars, assisted in translating, printing, and circulating the Bible in upward of fifty different languages. It may be doubted whether a great amount of good has been accomplished by expending so much on foreign translations, whilst a wide field for our own vernacular version is unsupplied.

Mr. Strickland states in his Preface, that he has made no attempt whatever at embellishment, his object having been to present a plain, unvarnished narrative of facts, as they have occurred in the operations of the Society. For this purpose he consulted with great care the printed reports, circulars, and letters of instruction issued by the board, from time to time, and embracing a period of many years. He found, that, to give full and intelligible information in regard to almost any important topic connected with the Society, the whole field of its operations must be searched, and the scattered fragments, lying here and there, must be gathered up and arranged. This required no small amount of patient care and labor, and the author is entitled to the thanks of the public for the apparent fidelity with which he has performed his work. He has presented, in a concise and convenient form, a great number of facts of much interest to the reader. In another edition, which, from the general interest felt in the subject,

we presume will soon be called for, we venture to suggest that an improvement in the arrangement of his matter may easily be made, by transferring to the Appendix, where they properly belong, the constitution of the Society, the long list of officers and agents, the catalogue of books in the library, and the details of donations to the Society.

In matters relating strictly to the history of the American Bible Society, we are willing to receive the accounts of Mr. Strickland as correct, without any other than a general reference in the Preface to his authorities. But, beyond this, we think the author should have furnished notes and references to enable the reader to verify or correct his statements. We notice several errors, not very important certainly, yet showing a carelessness in these minor matters by no means justifiable in one who attempts to state historical facts with minuteness.

In his first chapter, Mr. Strickland says:—"Seventeen years before the landing of the Pilgrims, the translation of the Bible by King James had been made, and the edict by Henry the Eighth which restricted its reading to royalty, and barred access to all the rest of mankind, was revoked, and the living oracles were opened to all who could procure them."—p. 18.

As King James's translation first appeared in 1611, and the landing of the pilgrims was in 1620, it is not easy to discover by what process in arithmetic the author makes the difference in these two important events to be seventeen years. Nor did the statute of Henry the Eighth restrict the reading of the Bible to royalty. Noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, being householders, were permitted to read the volume on certain conditions, and whatever restriction had been imposed was soon removed. Numerous editions of the various versions were issued during the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Elizabeth, and it was partly on account of this variety and the desirableness of having a uniform standard, and partly on account of the king's dislike to the Genevan or Puritan version, that he consented to the translation, or, more properly, revision, which is now in common use.

On page 136, Mr. Strickland says:—"In 1526, William Tyndale translated the New Testament, and, eleven years afterwards, the entire Bible." Applying once more the simplest of arithmetical rules to the author's statements, it will be found that he asserts that Tyndale translated the entire Bible in the year 1537,—a period some time after his

death. The fact is, Tyndale never translated the entire Bible. He contemplated doing so, but, being imprisoned and put to death on account of his heretical opinions, was not able to accomplish his purpose. The edition referred to is sometimes credited to Tyndale from the circumstance that the initials "W. T." appear at the end of the Old Testament, "as if," says Lewis, "it was all translated by him, though this is not true." (p. 106.) John Rogers, the proto-martyr in Queen Mary's persecuting reign, was the editor of this Bible, under the assumed name of Thomas Matthews. The opinion of the king relative to the circulation of English Bibles was not at that time considered sufficiently favorable to render it safe for the editor to place his real name upon the title-page. This error, of attributing to Tyndale the translation of the entire Bible, may have originated with Strype. It has often been repeated. But a contemporary historian states the matter so explicitly as to leave no room for doubt as to the part performed by Tyndale. Hall's Chronicle was published during the reign of Henry the Eighth, and but a few years after the death of Tyndale. The author says:—"William Tyndale translated the New Testament, and first put it into print; he likewise translated the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judicum, Ruth, the books of Kings and books of Chronicles, Nehemiah, and the first of Esdras and the prophet Jonas: *and no more of the Holy Scripture.*"*

On page 335, in the catalogue of books belonging to the library of the Society, the author gives the following title:—"Eliot's Indian Bible, 1635." Two editions of this remarkable work were issued; but the former of these was not printed till more than a quarter of a century after the date named above.

In the same catalogue, on page 336, we find "New Testament, Tyndale's Version, 1526." If there be such an edition of the New Testament in the library, the Society have secured a very great treasure. The only perfect copy of the edition heretofore known to be extant is in the library of the Baptist College in Bristol, England; and so valuable was it esteemed by the former proprietor, that he settled a life annuity of £20 on the fortunate discoverer of the volume. Probably the copy in the Bible Society's library is of the English *reprint* of 1836, or the American one of 1837.

* Newcome's Historical View of English Biblical Translations, p. 24.

On page 140 the author says : — “ The authorized printers of the Bible at Oxford University published a *fac-simile* of the first edition of King James, in order that it might be compared with modern editions.” This is not correct, inasmuch as the first edition was a folio volume printed in black letter, and the reprint is of quarto size and Roman letter. All modern editions are, or should be, verbatim reprints of the first ; the one alluded to by Mr. Strickland was a literal reprint, the original orthography, which has been commonly modernized in recent editions, being restored.

Giving the author all due credit for intended impartiality, we cannot but think he has sometimes erred in his manner of alluding to other denominations than that to which he belongs, which is the Methodist. Not that there is any bitterness or severity manifested toward others, unless it be in the case of the Roman Catholics. Yet we would prefer, in a work of this kind, that the reader should not discover, from the casual remarks of the author, in what direction his prejudices and predilections tend. Something may be pardoned in a person writing on the subject of the diffusion of the Scriptures, for speaking warmly of the opposition experienced from the Roman Catholics ; but the personal allusion to a Roman Catholic bishop in one of our cities as “ having a face to suit all political phases,” is certainly in bad taste, if not in bad spirit ; and the charge of supposed ignorance against the same bishop comes with an ill grace from one who himself mistakes or misrepresents the very matter in question. Mr. Strickland says : — “ He might have been ignorant of the fact, that the first Congress printed and circulated the Bible. Had he been as conversant with the history of this country as he is with monkish legends and Latin masses, he certainly would have known the views,” &c.

Now, in fact, neither the first Congress, nor any subsequent one, has ever printed and circulated the Bible. In 1777, a resolve respecting the importation of Bibles was passed in Congress by a bare majority, — seven States voting in the affirmative, and six in the negative ; but, as appears by the printed journal, the further consideration of the matter was postponed, nor does it appear ever again to have been resumed. The only edition of the Bible with which Congress has ever in any way been connected was one printed and sold in 1782, by Robert Aitkin, of Philadelphia. It was, however, a private enterprise. At the request of the pub-

lisher, Congress appointed a committee to examine the work, and passed a vote recommending it to the public, not because of its expense or elegance, for it was a very ordinary edition, but merely to aid the publisher. But to state that Dr. Beecher, Bishop McIlvaine, and the other respectable persons whose certificates of recommendation appear at the end of Mr. Strickland's volume, printed and circulated the "History of the American Bible Society," would be no more of an error than the implied assertion in the above quotation.

Should the Roman Catholic bishop see the work, what will he say to the author's statement on page 138 : — "In 1609 the *Rhemish* version was made at Douay"? Perhaps he may ask, in return, if the Oxford Protestant Bibles are not printed at Cambridge, — if St. John's Gospel was not written by Matthew, or Milton's *Paradise Lost* by Shakspeare.*

On page 21 we find the following sentence : — "In all Catholic countries, it [the Bible] is a condemned and prohibited book." Yet there are many statements in the volume which contradict this assertion. On page 170 we read, — "There is but one diocese in Mexico [a Catholic country] which prohibited the circulation of the Bible." "In France there are hundreds of priests engaged in the work of distribution." "In France, nominally a Papal country, the word of God has an unrestrained circulation." (p. 185.) Concerning the Spanish colonies of South America, where the Catholic religion prevails, we find, on page 179, — "The demand for the Scriptures continued to increase in all parts of the country ; persons of rank in church and state became interested in their perusal, and multitudes were seen with avidity to purchase and read the word of God."

We regret that the author should have indulged in a tone of disparagement, whenever he has alluded to the Roman Catholics. Probably no denomination of Christians in our country has less sympathy with the Church of Rome than that to which we belong. Yet we deprecate this course from principle and from policy. It is unjust and unwise. Let us use all the opportunities afforded by the Roman Catholics for spreading the Scriptures among their people, and encour-

* Mr. Strickland is not the first Protestant writer who has thus blundered respecting the name of the Roman Catholic version of the Bible. The New Testament translated at Rheims in 1582 is not improperly called the *Rhemish* Testament. But the Old Testament — and the whole Bible after 1609, the year when it was translated — takes its name from Douay, where the translators resided, and where this Bible was first published.

age them to grant us still greater opportunities, by showing them that it is from an interest in their best welfare that we desire them to read the Bible, and not from hatred to their Church. The truths of the Scripture are "mighty to the pulling down of strongholds." Often, a Bible would be received by a Roman Catholic, if unaccompanied with a denunciation of the Church. The British Bible Society, by pursuing a mild, gentle, and conciliatory course in this matter, has gained many Bible distributors in Roman Catholic countries.

Those who have written on the subject, we fear, have not always been careful to state the exact truth relating to the difficulties existing in such countries concerning the free use of the Bible. In our last number we noticed some recent evidences of a disposition amongst the Roman Catholics to furnish the Bible to all who desired to possess copies. Many more such facts might be mentioned.

There is another subject intimately connected with the above, and deserving particular attention. We mean the tone of exaggeration in which Protestant writers have too often indulged relative to the scarcity of copies of the Bible before the Reformation. Contrasted with the meridian splendor of our present privileges, those were indeed the dark ages. Yet there were always bright stars shining ever during that midnight darkness. Whilst rejoicing in the freedom of access to the sacred Scriptures which so many now enjoy, justice has not been done to those who in former times preserved the Scriptures with care and fidelity, and handed them down to us so free from alteration or corruption. The popular belief, that, before its translation by Luther, the Bible was a sealed book, but little known and lightly prized, carefully kept from the people by the Church, and never read except by the learned, and in a language which none but the learned could understand, is based on the too highly colored statements of enthusiastic partisan historians. Whilst we are ready to express our unqualified belief, that the fullest and freest circulation and use of the Bible are the legitimate fruits of the Reformation alone, we cannot but thank God that even in the darkest days there were many more than is generally supposed, who were interested in the preservation and perusal of the sacred Scriptures.

Probably no recent writer has done so much to confirm the common error respecting the scarcity of the Scriptures before the Reformation as D'Aubigne, in his fascinating

History. The very great popularity which that work has had in this country, possessing as it does all the interest (and, we fear, some other characteristics) of a work of fiction, renders it important that his statements be scrutinized and set right.

Speaking of Luther in the year 1503, he says:—"The young student spent in the library of the university the moments he could snatch from his academical labors. Books being then scarce, it was, in his eyes, a great privilege to be able to profit by the treasures of this vast collection. One day (he had been then two years at Erfurth, and was twenty years of age) he was opening the books in the library one after another, in order to read the names of the authors. One which he opened in its turn drew his attention. He had not seen any thing like it till that hour. He reads the title,—it is a Bible! a rare book, unknown at that time. His interest is strongly excited; he is filled with astonishment at finding more in this volume than those fragments of the Gospels and Epistles which the Church has selected to be read to the people in their places of worship every Sunday in the year. Till then, he had thought that they were the whole word of God."*

This highly rhetorical representation has been received, by most of the readers of the work who are not French, as sober truth. But a careful consideration of what is therein asserted, and an examination of the facts relating to the subject, will show the falseness and absurdity of D'Aubigne's statement. The Bible a rare book, unknown at that time! What other book was so well known, or so highly prized by the wise and good? Let us seek a true view of the matter.

From the time when the sacred penmen closed their labors down to the present day, there has never been any book or collection of books preserved with such assiduous care as the sacred Scriptures. God, having revealed his will and purposes through his commissioned messengers in olden time, committed the record of that revelation to human keeping, and through the agency of the written word has he wrought out most of those great changes in the condition of the world which have so blessed the human race. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, when Guttenberg gave to the world the invaluable art of printing, copies of the Bible could only be multiplied by the slow and costly process of

* History of the Great Reformation, &c., &c., Vol. I. p. 131. First American Edition. New York. 12mo. 1841.

transcribing. Yet there were always those who were ready and willing to give themselves to the service. Industrious scribes, secluded in monastic cells, cheerfully devoted their lives to the work of carefully copying the sacred Scriptures. The fidelity and beauty with which they performed this duty justly excite the admiration and praise of all who have examined specimens of their industry and skill. No books were copied with so much care and beauty as the Bible, the Psalter, and the Service-Book, which contained portions of the sacred Scripture. These were generally written on the most costly and delicate vellum, illuminated by the best skill of the artist, and adorned with a binding on which gold and gems were profusely lavished. Some Biblical manuscripts were written in letters of gold on the richest purple vellum. Sometimes the covers were of exquisitely carved and inlaid ivory. When the Northern barbarians invaded the South during the Middle Ages, they caused thousands of these beautiful and valuable manuscripts to be destroyed. Nor did monasteries and manuscripts fare much better from the indiscriminate zeal of the early Reformers, and the carelessness or superstition of others in later times. It is remarkable, when we consider the great destruction of manuscripts, that so many should now be found to attest the industry, skill, and fidelity of the scribes in the Middle Ages.

During the early part of the Reformation in England, the monasteries were rifled of their contents, and many beautiful manuscripts mutilated or burned. Quaint old Fuller, after declaring that, no doubt, many of these may have been works of superstition, exclaims, — “ But beside these, what beautiful Bibles ! Rare fathers, subtle schoolmen, useful historians ! Ancient ! Middle ! Modern ! What painful comments were here amongst them ! What monuments of mathematics all massacred together ! ”

In later times, twenty-five thousand manuscripts are said to have been destroyed in France in a single year. When search was made, during the last century, for the costly and valuable Biblical manuscripts procured by Cardinal Ximenes, to be used in preparing his Polyglot, it was ascertained that they had been sold for a paltry sum to a rocket-maker !

Many manuscripts were used, after the invention of printing, by bookbinders. The oldest fragments of a Biblical manuscript known to be in this country were obtained as the covers of a more modern book, purchased by President

Everett in Constantinople in 1819, and now in the library of Harvard University. The large number of manuscripts still to be found in the public and private libraries of Europe, notwithstanding the enormous wilful and accidental destruction, leads us to modify somewhat our notion of the ignorance and indolence of the Middle Ages. Even during those days of degradation and darkness, the principal monasteries had their libraries, and the glory of the library was its magnificent Bible or Bibles. It was a well-known maxim, for centuries, that "a monastery without a library is like a castle without an armoury."*

But it may be asked, Was not all this labor and beauty bestowed upon a book which only a privileged few could enjoy? Was not the Bible carefully kept from all but the priests, and its general use strictly prohibited by the Church? Was not the Latin Vulgate the only version, and this in a language which the common people could not understand? Certainly not. That there were some restrictions concerning the use of the Scriptures, and that the Church always retained the sole right of interpretation, is undeniable; but these restrictions before the Reformation were not as great as has generally been represented. The fact, that vernacular versions had been made in nearly every country where Christianity was received, shows conclusively that *the people read the Scriptures*. One incident in English history, about a century before the time of Luther, is sufficient to cover this whole matter. When the spread of the Lollard heresy (so called) had alarmed the defenders of church and state, a motion was made in the House of Lords to suppress Wickliffe's translation of the Bible. "Old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster," in defending the free use of this and other vernacular versions, is reported to have said, — "We will not be the dregs of all, since other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language"; at the same time declaring, in a very solemn manner, that "he would maintain our having this law in our own tongue, against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the bill." The Duke was seconded by others, who said, that, "if the Gospel, by its

* "Clastrum sine armario, quasi castrum, sine armamentario." Peignot, *Dict. de Bibliolog.*, Vol. I. p. 77. This, according to Dibdin, (*Bibliomania*, p. 149.) refers to the sixth century. By a reference to Henry's *History of Great Britain*, (Book III. ch. iv. sec. 1,) it will be found that the same maxim was in use in England at a much later period.

being translated into English, was the occasion of men's running into error, they might know that there were more heretics to be found among the Latins than among the people of any other language. For that the Decretals reckoned no fewer than sixty-six Latin heretics, and so the Gospel must not be read in Latin, which yet the opposers of its English translation allowed. Upon which, it is said, the bill was thrown out of the House." * Was the Bible, before the invention of printing, the rare and restricted volume that many suppose it to have been ?

A new era in the history of Bible circulation commenced about the middle of the fifteenth century, when greatly increased facilities for the multiplication of copies were afforded, by the invention of the art of printing. There is great significance in the fact, that the first fruits of the printing-press were offered to the world in the form of a magnificent folio Bible.

The Mazarin Bible deserves a somewhat minute description. It is a volume of great interest as a rare typographical curiosity, and especially from the fact, that it was not only the first Bible, but the first book, ever printed. Not many of our readers have probably had the gratification of seeing the precious volume. Only twenty copies are known to be now extant, and although one of these has, by the good taste and generosity of a private individual, been brought to this country, its destination to a private library renders it inaccessible to all but a privileged few. The copy of this rare Bible alluded to was purchased at the sale of the library of Mr. Wilkes in London, in March, 1847, by Mr. George P. Putnam, for Mr. James Lenox, of New York, in whose valuable library it now reposes. The price was £ 500. The duties and expenses made the cost in this country not far from \$ 2500. It is undoubtedly the most costly, as well as the oldest, printed book in this country.

This volume derives its name from the circumstance, that a copy was discovered and brought to light by De Bure, the bibliographer in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. The date of printing is nowhere to be found in the work, but its priority to all other printed books has been established beyond reasonable doubt, by the Rev. Dr. Dibdin, in a learned disquisition communicated to the *Classical Journal*.† By a

* Lewis's Complete History of Translations, p. 28.

† Vol. IV. No. 8, pp. 471 - 484.

curious manuscript memorandum in the copy at Paris, it appears that that copy was illuminated, rubricated, and bound by Henry Cremer, vicar of the Collegiate Church of St. Stephens, in 1456.

Guttenberg, the printer of this volume, and the inventor of the art, was of noble birth, though his fortune was not large. It has excited the wonder of nearly every bibliographer and historian of the art of printing, that he should have hazarded so much, and taken so bold a flight, as this attempt to publish so costly a work in the infancy of the art. Before he had printed twelve sheets, he had expended more than four thousand florins, — an immense sum in those days. Being unable to continue the work from his own resources, he applied to a rich goldsmith by the name of Fust (sometimes spelt Faust and Faustus). With him he formed a partnership; but Fust, becoming dissatisfied, sued his partner, and obtained possession of the press, types, moulds, and utensils, on which he previously held a mortgage. This was soon after the completion of the Bible. It consisted of two huge folio volumes, printed in double columns, with a very large, clear Gothic or German character. The beauty of the type, the excellence of the paper, and the general splendor and magnitude of the volumes, have won the admiration and praise of all writers who have given attention to the subject. "It was," says Mr. Hallam, "Minerva leaping on earth in her divine strength and radiant armour, ready at the moment of her nativity to subdue and destroy her enemies. We may see, in imagination, this venerable and splendid volume leading up the crowded myriads of its followers, and imploring, as it were, a blessing upon the new art, by dedicating its first fruits to the service of Heaven." Was it a rare book, generally unknown, but lightly prized, and prohibited to the people, on which the first printer spent so much time, toil, and money?

After his dissolution with Guttenberg, Fust formed a copartnership for the purpose of carrying on the business with his son-in-law, Peter Schoeffer, who had been an apprentice to the former firm. They printed, in the year 1457, among other things, a beautiful folio Psalter, which is distinguished, in the annals of bibliography, as the first book bearing the date of its imprint. They also printed, in 1462, the first Bible with a date. It was this edition of 1462, and not the first Bible, as is gener-

ally supposed, which Fust offered for sale in Paris as manuscript. The exact similarity of the copies, together with the cheapness and rapidity with which he was enabled to supply them, led the purchasers to the supposition, that the Devil must be associated with the Bible-seller in his business. The rich goldsmith and printer was glad to escape from Paris with his life.

The printing-press had been in operation half a century. Nearly two hundred editions of the entire Bible in the Latin Vulgate version had been printed ; numerous editions of vernacular versions had been prepared and published for Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Netherlands, and Bohemia ; and a distinguished ecclesiastic of the last-named country had declared, some time previous, that scarcely a Bohemian woman could be found who could not answer any questions respecting either the Old or the New Testament,* when, according to D'Aubigne, Luther discovered a Bible, "a rare book, unknown at that time" ! Was all this work of Bible publication going on without the knowledge or contrary to the canons and edicts of the Church of Rome ? Facts will not warrant such a conclusion. As early as 1471, the Bible was printed at Rome, within sight of the Vatican, and with the knowledge of the Pope ; and, the next year, another edition was published there in seven folio volumes, with the commentary of Nicolas de Lyra, — the first commentary on the Scriptures ever printed. At the time when Luther is said to have made the discovery, Sanctes Pagninus, a learned Catholic ecclesiastic of the order of St. Dominic, was engaged at Rome in making a new Latin translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek. The Pope, on learning the fact, sent for the translator, and after examining a portion of the manuscript, ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his expense, and gave direction that materials should be provided for printing it.†

At the same time, Cardinal Ximenes, amidst the great cares and responsibilities which devolved upon him in his ecclesiastical and civil offices, was devoting a portion of his precious time and best abilities to the preparation of that wonderful work, the Complutensian Polyglot. It is difficult for us fully to appreciate the munificence of his patronage, the magnitude of the undertaking, or the difficulty of its exe-

* Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, p. 526.

† Roscoe's *Leo the Tenth*, Vol. II. p. 282.

cution. Some idea of these may be formed, when we consider that the work consists of six large folio volumes, printed in Hebrew, Greek, Chaldee, and Latin ; that, as there were no types in Spain in the Oriental character, artists were imported from Germany to cast the types in the various languages required, and that fifteen years were employed in its completion. Nine scholars well skilled in the ancient tongues were employed, and at the close of each day met and deliberated with the Cardinal concerning the work. Ximenes, that he might be better able to superintend the publication, commenced at the age of sixty years the study of Hebrew. No care or expense was spared on the work. Four thousand gold crowns were paid for seven Hebrew manuscripts, which, however, unfortunately came too late to be of any use in the compilation. The entire cost of preparation and publication, amounting to the enormous sum of fifty thousand ducats, was defrayed by the liberality of the wealthy Cardinal. "A noble monument of piety, learning, and munificence, which entitles its author to the gratitude of the whole Christian world."

Many others, among the hundreds of editions of the Bible which were printed in the fifteenth century, are worthy of particular notice. For accuracy and beauty of typography, they will advantageously compare with the best specimens of modern times. Sometimes the skill of the engraver was employed to adorn the page of the printer. Our limits will not allow us further to specify or describe these early Biblical productions of the press. But the pages of Pettigrew, Dibdin, Horne, and other bibliographers, will confirm the truth of our remarks respecting the number and excellence of these ante-Lutheran editions.

The fact, that copies of the Bible were so rapidly multiplied and so readily sold, is sufficient, we should think, to convince any reasonable person, that a general interest was felt in the Scriptures, and that their extensive circulation and free use did not suffer from any hostile interference or prohibition of the Roman Church. That Church was then omnipotent in such matters, and could easily have crushed any attempts to act contrary to its wishes or regulations. No Protestant party existed to dispute its authority. That no desire was at that time felt to suppress the reading of the Bible is manifest from the circumstance, that the highest dignitaries of the Church of Rome were the patrons and pro-

motors of its publication. If, in doing this, they unwittingly furnished the weapon which was eventually to accomplish the overthrow of their power, their case is not without a parallel in the annals of history.

The occasional passage of a prohibitory edict respecting the reading of the Bible does not invalidate the view taken above. These edicts were of a limited and local character. A particular version was condemned because the author's name was associated with some new heresy ; or the laity of a certain diocese were altogether forbidden to read the Bible, on account of some prevailing error, supposed to have been derived therefrom. But no *general decree* of the Roman Catholic Church, denying to the people the privilege of reading the Scriptures, can be found before the Reformation.

We would not, by any means, be understood as entertaining the opinion that the Bible was nearly as well known, or generally read, before the Reformation, as since. The contrast between the most favorable portion of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and any period after the Reformation was fully established, is very great. But the ignorance and destitution of former ages, we maintain, were never so great as have been generally represented. We would do justice to those industrious scribes, early printers, and liberal patrons, by whose means copies of the Scriptures were preserved and multiplied. We believe that the Bible has always been watched over and preserved by Divine Providence. Whilst we gladly own that its free circulation has been greatly promoted by the effects of the Reformation, we would call to mind the fact, that the Reformation owes its origin and success to the knowledge of the Bible which previously existed. The influence, undoubtedly, was reciprocal. But too often cause and consequence have been transposed. The glory which has encircled the brow of Luther, as the deliverer of the Bible from bondage and darkness, should be transferred to the Bible. It was this volume which, first shedding its divine light upon his mind, furnished him with the motives and weapons of his warfare.

Since the Reformation, the Bible has sometimes received violent treatment from the Roman Church. But the authority of the Bible has never been denied. The controversy between the Reformers and the Roman Catholics has not been so much concerning the character of the volume, as on the right

of interpreting and deciding on its contents. The Romanists claim the exclusive right to exercise this prerogative. By tradition, its true meaning has always, they maintain, been preserved in the infallible Church alone, and it is the duty of the Church to guard against incorrect translations and false interpretations. Sometimes this prerogative has been exercised in a summary way. The Reformers, *in theory*, asserted the right and duty of each individual to interpret the Scriptures according to his *own* private reason and conscience. Perhaps there is not, in practice, so much difference between Roman Catholics and most Protestant sects, respecting the use and authority of the Bible, as would at first appear. Each has its favorite version, and will not encourage the circulation of any other.

In our language, the Roman Catholic receives the Douay version, the only English translation authorized by the Church. He looks upon all others with distrust, as false and heretical. Many Protestants consider our common English Bible as of nearly equal authority with the original text, and frown upon all attempts to offer the English reader an improved version. The Bible society or Christian sect that should presume to circulate any other English version of the Scriptures than that prepared more than two hundred years ago, would be pronounced heretical, and rendered liable to the anathemas of a vast majority of the Protestant Christians in the country. Even the large and respectable denomination of Baptists, whose strenuousness relative to the rendering of the word βαπτίζω in foreign translations led to a rupture with the parent institution, and the formation of a separate Bible Society, has not dared to alter the English version in its issues, though deeming the rendering of the word unsatisfactory.

The Roman Catholic condemns as a heretic the person who discovers and defends an interpretation of the Scriptures different from that which the Church allows. The Protestant, maintaining, in theory, the right of private judgment, too often excommunicates the inquirer whose active mind finds a meaning to God's word not contained in the creed of the sects. All those are considered heretics by the Calvinists who find more or less in the Bible than the doctrines proclaimed as truth by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and contained in that wonderful work, "The Shorter Catechism." Other sects, also, have their tests.

It is sad to see this bondage to creeds, which brings the individual's interpretation of the Scriptures to be tested by the standard of a sect, and assigns him a place with believers or infidels according to its agreement or disagreement with that standard.

Yet there is, we are persuaded, a powerful modifying influence exerted by the Bible, wherever the volume is received and read, which practically nullifies the effect of many false doctrines, tacitly assented to by thousands, though seldom, we hope, believed in the heart. How often has it been found, when two Christians of opposite creeds have entered into a personal explanation, that the supposed difference in their religious views has vanished! Both are orthodox and both are liberal, according to the explanations given. Their motives, affections, and hopes are nearly the same.

The controversy between Romanists and Protestants respecting the Bible did not, we repeat, arise from difference of opinion as to its value or authority, but related entirely to the right of interpretation. The Romanist founds his faith on the Bible, the traditions of the Church, and the decisions of councils. The Protestant appeals to the Bible as alone sufficient to decide all questions of faith and practice. One of the important objects of Luther, therefore, was to furnish his followers with a satisfactory translation in German. This was published in parts, as they were ready, the first appearing in 1522, and the entire Bible in 1534. It is the commonly received opinion among Protestants, that the general circulation of the Bible commenced with this translation. But it will be found by a reference to what follows, that nearly a thousand different printed editions of the whole or a portion of the Bible had appeared before the publication of Luther's version.

Hain and Panzer are justly considered the highest authorities in matters pertaining to bibliography and typography for the first two centuries after the invention of printing. Hain describes only works printed in the fifteenth century. By reference to his *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, it will be found that he enumerates and describes 148 different editions of the entire Bible, besides 129 Testaments, Psalms, or other parts of the Scriptures, — making 277 separate editions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, before 1501.

Panzer specifies, between the years 1501 and 1534, (when Luther's Bible was first printed entire,) 141 editions of

the Bible complete, 65 editions of the New Testament, and 343 editions of the Psalms, or other books of the Bible, — making in all 549 editions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, between 1501 and 1534. By adding these to the number of editions described by Hain, we have an aggregate of 826 editions of the Bible, or parts thereof, printed before the appearance of Luther's German version. A large number of these Bibles were in the vernacular tongues of the various countries of Europe.

It should be borne in mind, that Hain and Panzer have mentioned in their works only the editions which they could identify with a good degree of certainty. Undoubtedly there were many others; but enough are here given to show the absurdity of D'Aubigne's statement respecting the scarcity of the Bible before Luther's discovery of a copy of the "rare book" in the library at Erfurth, and the incorrectness of the popular belief, that, until the translation of Luther appeared, the Scriptures were only read by the priests and the learned in the Latin tongue. We have constructed the following table, to show the number of Bibles that were printed on the Continent before the opening of the sixteenth century. It contains only those editions of the *entire* Bible which have been particularly described.

Tabular View of Bibles printed in the Fifteenth Century.

Where printed.	No. of Editions.	Number of Editions printed in each Year.		
Venice,	36	1455, 1.	1480, 8.	1491, 6.
Basle,	18	1462, 1.	1481, 4.	1492, 5.
Nuremberg,	14	1466, 2.	1482, 3.	1493, 1.
Strasburg,	10	1470, 1.	1483, 6.	1494, 6.
Cologne,	9	1471, 4.	1484, 2.	1495, 2.
Augsburg,	7	1472, 1.	1485, 3.	1496, 1.
Paris,	7	1475, 8.	1486, 4.	1497, 5.
Lyons,	6	1476, 5.	1487, 7.	1498, 4.
Mentz,	3	1477, 8.	1488, 2.	1499, 0.
Naples,	2	1478, 5.	1489, 7.	1500, 4.
Rome, Florence, and } other places, }	36	1479, 5.	1490, 3.	
Total,	148	Without date, 24. Total, 148.		

With the progress of the Reformation, the multiplication of copies of the Bible rapidly increased. The early Reformers soon found that the instrument which they had used with such power and success in their attacks upon the faith

and practice of the mother Church could be turned against themselves. For God did not reveal all his truth to them at once. It broke forth by degrees. They, not comprehending this fact, soon began to establish creeds and tests, and to persecute all whose interpretation of the Bible varied from these standards of truth which they had set up. The sad tale of Servetus's sufferings has often been told, but his connection with the publication of the Bible has not been associated with his martyrdom as it should have been. Calvin and Servetus, as is well known, were once warm friends. They had early renounced the authority of the Church of Rome, but Servetus went farther than his companion in rejecting its errors. The doctrines of Transubstantiation and of the Trinity were both held as essential truths by the Catholic Church. Calvin rejected the former, and retained the latter. Servetus rejected both. Their friendship was at an end. Servetus, though by profession a doctor of medicine, frequently indulged his taste for theological pursuits. He published several treatises on doctrinal subjects. The copy of Pagninus's version of the Bible, with the author's manuscript corrections, coming into his hands, he undertook to edit its publication. He prefixed a preface, or address to the reader, and added some short notes. These were supposed to contain heretical sentiments. The book was condemned and the author imprisoned. Having escaped from prison, he imprudently visited Geneva. He was betrayed by Calvin, and, having been tried and convicted for heresy, was condemned to be burnt to death. The Catholics and Calvinists for the first time united to consign a Unitarian to the flames. All the copies of the Bible of his edition that could be found were burnt in the same fire which consumed his body.

Instances might be multiplied of the destruction of Bibles by Catholics and Protestants, sometimes on account of the supposed false or heretical translation, and at others for their typographical errors.

Probably in no country, after the Reformation commenced, was the free circulation of vernacular versions attended with so much difficulty as in England. This may have arisen from the fact, that Henry the Eighth renounced his allegiance to Rome from policy rather than from principle. He, and not the Pope, was to be regarded as the head of the Church. The monarch was in doubt as to the effect

which the general reading of the Bible would have upon his claims to this office. On that account he wavered in his opinions. One day he encouraged the people to study the Scriptures ; the next, he forbade their general use. No confidence could be placed in the permanence of any of his decisions. But at length all restriction on their perusal was removed, and they have attained a circulation greater in the English language than in all others combined. A full account of the various English versions, and a history of their publication, may be found in a former volume of the Examiner.*

Let it not be thought, because we have attempted to show that before the Reformation copies of the Bible were not so scarce as has been erroneously represented, that we are insensible to the high privileges which the present age enjoys in relation to the sacred volume. Nor because we have intimated that Protestants too often, in practice, violated the spirit of their cherished maxim, — “The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants,” — and have required other tests, that we undervalue the efforts of the early Reformers, or lightly prize the position which Protestant Christians now occupy. An untold amount of influence was, we believe, exerted by the Bible in the darkest period of the Middle Ages. The Reformation, civilization, the arts, sciences, and every thing that cheers and blesses the world, owe their existence, either directly or indirectly, to the Bible ; and the doctrines of that volume, we feel confident, are sufficient to overcome all errors, and establish on earth in God’s own good time his kingdom of righteousness and truth.

We bring our remarks to a close with the words of Milton : — “We shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God, which he hath left us, as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted and proportioned to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithful man, whose every part consenting, and making up the harmonious symmetry of complete instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God. And with this weapon, without stepping a foot farther, we shall not doubt to batter and throw down Nebuchadnezzar’s image, and crumble it like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors.”

G. L.

* Vol. XIV. p. 327, for July, 1833.

ART. VII.—THE LIBERTY OF ROME.*

ROME had another history than that of war. It is this other history which Mr. Eliot has written.

Influences from ancient Rome are still so interwoven in our customs and laws, that there is more than one sense in which she is still the mistress of the civilized world. But such influences are not the results of her conquests in war. Those would have died away and excited our curiosity as little as Prussia's victories, or as Egypt's, had there not been other powers than those of arms in Rome,—to which, indeed, Rome owed her victories. The relics of Roman arms are scarcely more than a turf-covered wall here, or a broken vase of coins discovered there,—a ruined arch, or a furrow-marked camp, which may have been thrown up by Agricola, or perhaps by Theodosius, or perhaps by Edie Ochiltree and the mason-lads of his acquaintance. But of the other history of Rome, all popular institutions are, in one degree or another, the memorials. The municipal legislation of our large towns runs back, through its English precedents, to Roman origin. Our jurisprudence, whether by a direct or indirect connection, is bound to Roman originals. And our every-day government is subjected to strains and difficulties for which the most curious parallel may be found in those of Rome. Mr. Eliot, therefore, not only leaves a closely gleaned field for one hardly entered by our reapers, but he is leaving a narrow field for a wide one, when he passes by the chronicling of mere feats of arms, the details of Italian, Punic, or Asiatic wars, and enters, with his vigorous and contagious enthusiasm, on the history of Roman institutions, from Rome's birth to the overthrow of her liberty.

The book is called a History of Roman Liberty. Yet it ought to be everywhere understood that it is, in fact, a History of Rome. For the reader who should be disappointed, in not finding all the statistics of recruiting, of manœuvring, and of carnage, would deserve his disappointment. The book is simply the History of Rome, from Romulus

* *The Liberty of Rome: a History. With an Historical Account of the Liberty of Ancient Nations.* By SAMUEL ELIOT. New York: George P. Putnam. 1849. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 526 and 523.

to Tiberius, developing, with chief care, the means by which Rome gradually gave so much freedom to her citizens, as to call out more and more the power of her citizens, and so to gain her wonderful victories by land and sea, — victories of arms and of diplomacy also. These means of power are the most important subject of history. And, of ancient history especially, the detail of conquest or defeat is useless in comparison. In the outset Mr. Eliot says : —

“ The following work might have been entitled the History of Rome, etc., with a View to describe the Liberty of that and other Ancient Nations ; which I mention, not in order to dilate upon any uncertainties of my own, but simply to guard against misapprehension of the subject I propose to treat. Not believing that liberty is anywhere to be understood or judged according, merely, to the government over any people, but rather, and chiefly, according to the capacity and the cultivation of the people themselves under their government, I have entered upon various narratives and investigations, which would appear misplaced to the reader, if he looked for accounts of institutions or antiquities alone, much more so, if he expected nothing but generalizations or metaphysical inquiries.” — *Preface*, p. 5.

The suggestion here thrown out is certainly well founded. And, on the other hand, the history of a nation is, as certainly, still unwritten, so long as the author confines himself to the annals of its outward actions, without falling behind these, to tell us of its ways and means, — of the inner life by which these actions were wrought. And yet, although, of late years, this has been repeated again and again, and we have been told, till the words are hackneyed, that history ought not to be the annals of war, or the private life of courts only, as it has been so often, still we do not recollect, in our language, so extended and bold an effort to show the possibility of a more profound history as is this book now before us.

We shall give a short sketch of the progress of Roman institutions as Mr. Eliot has traced them. Before attempting this, we have only to speak of the mood with which he follows them, and of the theory of history by which he writes. This mood is the constant and reverential recognition of God's presence in the affairs of men. The author does not write as an annalist ; — not to arrange again, as in an accidental chronology, the fragments which he can find, as if there were no dependence of one on another, or as if there

were no Spirit controlling all and binding each to what preceded, and to what has grown from it. He writes as a theologian. Very carefully, as with our weak sight one must, he looks for the evidences of God's presence, power, and goodness. He speaks to us of Divine power, as exhibited in these bits of bone from which he is rebuilding the skeleton of old Rome, — exactly as the student of natural theology shows us God's contrivance in the mechanism of the hand or foot, when he explains it to us.

It is undoubtedly true, and it ought to be understood, that to look at one event only, and then to speak of God's intention in that alone, is simply absurd, and so irreverent. It is to look at one position of a planet, and from that to pretend to give the planet's orbit. It is to stand in one spot upon a plain, and attempt to state the height of the mountain to which one cannot travel. But if one can see the mountain from two points successively, he has a base line, and can tell its height. If he have three points of the planet's orbit, he has gained an arc from which he can calculate correctly. And just so, when he looks not at one event only, but at the connection of long series of events, in an arc of the great orbit which is measured perhaps by centuries, he may see something of the great law which rules them. And for that law, for that presence of the Infinite Spirit, the true historian is to search; and he will, — unless he boldly holds to the Epicurean God, who leaves his worlds to their own unguided courses, or to men. God is in all history, or he is not in any. We cannot, in our time, take a middle ground. True, we remember certain school histories, perhaps even still in use, which speak of Columbus's discovery and of Washington's retreat from Long Island as two events which were "favored by Providence," while, in the whole career of America from the beginning, they find no other such *intervention*. And we recollect a passage of Gibbon, where, in like mood, we find him groping about for a middle ground. "I remember an observation," he says, "*half philosophical, half superstitious*, that the province of Samaria, which had been ruined by the bigotry of Justinian, was the same through which the Mahometans afterwards penetrated into the empire." But such instances are of a sort of half-way method of writing, which, after our study of the philosophy of history, is not longer to be endured. The true historian will do as

Mr. Eliot has done, — acknowledge God's law as ruling the whole, and reverently speak of it, when there is a long enough arc of progress for him to trace it with certainty. "This," as Richter says, "is the highest value of history, in so far as by means of it, as by the aid of nature, we can discover and read the Infinite Spirit, who in nature and in history, as with letters, writes to us legibly. He who finds God in the physical world will also find him in the moral, which is history." The bold historian who cannot do this must sweep out from his work all allusion to God's will or power. There is no longer any middle ground for men who, like Gibbon, are "half philosophical and half superstitious."

"Rome was not built in a day." There is almost a fashion among historians to speak as if it were; as if it sprang complete from the Tiber's shore, when Romulus killed Remus. But Mr. Eliot brings into his "First Book," which describes the "Period of Foundation," two hundred and forty-seven years. Beginning with Romulus, A. C. 753, this period ends with the Roman submission to Porsenna, some years after the establishment of the Consulate. The next period — the "Period of Increase" of Roman Liberty — begins, therefore, with the successful popular secession to Mons Sacer.

Of the early legends of Roman history, Mr. Eliot takes this sensible view, that the names, at least, which they mention, are those of living men, and that the institutions which they describe were the actual foundations of the Roman constitution. We may, therefore, use at least the language of those legends in the history of this "Period of Foundation." Without changing our childish associations, we may refresh our youthful acquaintance with Romulus's reign as long and glorious. As early as that time, the original and fundamental divisions of Roman society must have taken form. The Gens, or Name, — a corporation partly civil, partly religious, made up of several allied families, — was in order, then, the first element in the constitution of the Roman state. Thirty Names, or Gentes, then or soon after, constituted the Patrician body. The Senate already existed, and the rudiments of the order of the Equites. And this was all. For although every foray from the Palatine, where this nest of robbers had settled, obtained its reward in captives, who became slaves or clients in the end, the great Plebeian body cannot thus early be well described.

Accepting the mystery of Romulus's death as one not worth exploring, we come to Numa, the second founder of the state, to whose immediate succession to Romulus, taking their names as the names of living men, do we owe it that this robber fortress was not broken up and left without a name, like thousands of its kindred. We tread on firmer ground as we pass along the line of his successors. History seems more genuine as there arises more material for history; and the Tarquins come and go with quite the same certainty as the characters of the dullest annals, where not even a German can suspect that poetry has created as well as adorned them.

In the fourth of these reigns, Ancus Martius stands forth, as having founded the order of the Plebeians. Founding that, as it proved, he founded the Rome that was to be, — even the Rome of to-day which is questioning every augury to know where and what is to be her future. He conquered a Latin tribe, and endowed its people with certain rights of citizenship, and gave to them a home. Here began the policy on which Rome strengthened herself, on the abandonment of which Rome fell. As Niebuhr says, “by imparting subordinate civil rights to her conquered enemies, she converted them into a body of loyal subjects.” And, on the other hand, “the ruin of the Roman republic arose from a stoppage in that development of its political system which, by the admission and elevation of the commonalty, had made the state powerful and glorious, — from the Italian allies not being invested one after another with the Roman franchise.” This successful policy of receiving strangers into the rights of citizens has been one of the turning-points of our success in America; just as the violation of it in the case of the blacks is what the same violation would be in the case of foreign emigrants, — a misery wholly akin to the most terrible diseases of old Rome.

We have not room to go into the details by which the two great bodies now existing, Patrician and Plebeian, were classified, for peace or war. Mr. Eliot's statement, surrounded though he is by difficulties, is clear and consistent. We know whom we have as actors when “the Patrician revolution” took place, and, at the occasion given by the rape of Lucretia, the Patricians throw off the rule of the king, who has been, after all, only “the chief Patrician,” and substitute the form — which, for their purposes, is more

convenient — of the Consulate ; a change rather in name or form than in reality. And in our time, if at no other, we are prepared to find that a revolution undertaken with one object brings about many others. We are not surprised, when the Tarquins and royalty have been so easily driven out, to find that this Plebs is proposing its rights and claims, and that henceforth we are to follow the great contest between Plebeian and Patrician.

Beginning, as we have said, with the secession to Mons Sacer, only a few years after the Consulship was established, Mr. Eliot's second period — "of Increase" — extends through two hundred and sixty-eight years. By the end of this time, the wars with Carthage were over, and Rome fairly established, as conqueror, at home and abroad. The Plebeians, who have seceded to Mons Sacer, are allured home only by great concessions. They are the army, and can make their own terms. And with that day appears the Roman Tribune, whose office is born from that collision. Year after year has its new story of new popular rights discovered, claimed, contested, and secured. Those Agrarian laws appear, whose name has been entirely misapplied to the efforts of our modern Socialists. They were simply public land bills, — exciting more popular interest than ours, only because the domain of the state was nearer at hand, and admitted more readily of division among individuals. Our "National Reform" party of two or three years ago, which claimed, for each man who asked, a share in the Western public lands, proposed an ancient agrarian law. Although less like the Roman, Mr. Clay's celebrated "land bill" was also an agrarian law. In the midst of these changes, Mr. Eliot notes "disorder, but progress," and then we have such points as "The Twelve Tables" and "constitutional reforms." Gradually the Plebeian works his way to offices refused before. To soothe the conceding Patricians, some new office is created at the moment of concession, to be occupied by them alone. But still, in time, some bold Plebeian forces himself in, even there. Parties rage ; but there is still wider and wider personal freedom ; and so, in the midst of the transitory hopes and fears of Camillus, Manlius, Licinius, Fabius, and Decius, and the rest, the popular party grows, the Patricians find that they are not destroyed, and a result comes which neither party had sought in these contests, namely, that Rome becomes

a stronger and stronger power without ; by the vigor of her armies of freemen conquers tribe after tribe, till she is mistress of all Italy, all Sicily, and half of Gaul. And then comes the long, wavering struggle with Carthage. If this were not surely history, it would seem to have been written out as the melodramatic narrative, which should, in short compass and with bold contrast, compare the energies of a state of merchant princes, ruling over their fellow-citizens, with those of a state of freer institutions, — so distinctly is the alacrity and the high culture of the one, with its early zeal and later coolness, matched against the errors and slow-bought experience of the other, with its unconquerable, stolid perseverance, raising from defeat itself perpetual resources, which in the end must command victory. The second Carthaginian war, in its real history, — not that of the manœuvring of Cannæ or Zama, but in that of the impulses behind, — is admirably narrated.

“The Period of Decay” extends from A. C. 137 to A. C. 60. We may assist those who think they cannot remember dates, by Niebuhr’s exposition of the old augury, when Romulus grasped the right to rule over Rome. Remus saw six vultures. In the contest between the brothers, Romulus afterwards saw twelve, and, from the superiority of number, claimed what, in true augury, belonged to Remus, as the first observer, — the right to rule. Now each vulture was one *seculum*, or age. And an *age* was the longest known life of man, or 110 years. Niebuhr notes, with satisfaction, that the twelve *ages* of Romulus expire in the sixth century of our era, “when Rome, having been disarmed for ever, was become the capital of a spiritual empire, which we have seen interrupted in our day.” He goes on to say, that “the augur would perhaps have interpreted the six *ages*, corresponding to the legitimate augury of Remus, as signifying the duration of the legal or free constitution.” This will bring the reader just to the middle of Mr. Eliot’s “Period of Decay.”

It is Roman liberty which decays. Roman power, Roman wealth, Roman art and literature, grow as Roman liberty wanes. These are brilliant pictures which crowd into seventy-seven years. In its quick flash and play, action and reaction, the history is much more like that of our own times than those earlier courses appear, when men played for stakes which seem to us smaller, because we know so

little of the game. As it should be, in our time, the generous and unfortunate Gracchi are at last redeemed, on these pages, from their sad position of selfish conspirators. It suited Cicero's purpose once to place them there, and every schoolboy since, who reads his Catiline-speeches, has been satisfied that they belonged there. Close after them comes Marius, then the Italian War, then Sulla, Pompey, Cicero and his decline, and the decline at the same time of liberty in Rome.

Before this time, the old division between Patrician and Plebeian was gone, or nearly so. At the beginning of this period we have "the popular party," well called so on the pages we follow, and more nearly resembling one of our modern parties than any thing else in early history. Civil struggles, and changes of property, have made the Plebeian the equal and rival of the Patrician; and in these later contests, the old line is not the line of separation. When Catiline seduces those who were in debt by his promises of relief, his words fall as agreeably on noble ears as upon the classes who were ready to fight for like relief centuries before.

The Book of "Decay" ends with an examination of Roman religion and philosophy. We wish this had been much longer, and gone much more into detail. Or is it true, that, of this great people, in their best day, we are never to know what was their practical, every-day faith? Or is it lost for ever, as it seems to be when one gropes for it? Some faith, some notion of sacred things, there must have been. There was a something which kept them from suicide when in despair; there was a something which gave its sanction to the patriotism which was so willing to throw life away. That this something was gone, that this faith—too high a name for it, probably—was undermined before the Period of Decay, is doubtless true. But what was it before? Was it nothing but the stiff ritual which the older books describe as the early Roman religion?

Seventy-four years more comprise the "Overthrow" of Roman liberty. Here are the names of Julius Cæsar, of the conspirators and Triumvirs, and of Augustus,—and Mr. Eliot finishes his book with a short chapter on "The Close of Antiquity." Roman liberty has ended with it, and the reader of Rome's history may pass at once to Tacitus as he begins his story of Tiberius.

Now, in the true view of history, this account of seven hundred and more years is nothing, unless in it we can find some law or laws teaching us God's will. What are the lessons of this rise, growth, decay, and overthrow of the free state of Rome?

The political lesson is on the surface. By this time the world ought to have learned it, though the governments of the Old World seem trying always to escape it. It is this, — that a nation gains power, within and without, in proportion as her citizens offer their resources as free gifts, rather than as extorted contributions. That is to say, a nation's strength, in the long course, will be measured by the number of freemen which make up that nation. Rome gains in strength so long as her conquered subjects are permitted to make a part of Rome, — of the Roman state. So soon as such permission ceases, and the freemen of Rome govern Rome's provinces and their people, so soon they begin to feel the weakness of any despotism, whether of one head or of many. Wave after wave of rebellion breaks against the government, till in the end the tide rises so high that the last wave topples over the whole, and Rome falls.

The moral lesson of this History is, first, this, — that liberty, the free use of powers, is nearly worthless, unless there are with it true powers, in just proportion with each other, to be used.

"The idea of liberty is inseparable from the idea of power. Liberty, in fact, is the means of exercising power; while the possession of power is worth nothing without its employment in liberty. The ability is nearly synonymous with the freedom to do any thing which is the natural work of human hands or human minds. An individual may, indeed, be free, but to no good purpose, without capacity and cultivation; nor will a nation, though free, make any use of its liberty, unless it have strength and civilization." — Vol. I. pp. 7, 8.

And this strength needs to be moral power, as Mr. Eliot goes on to show.

Thus the liberty of Rome was utterly profitless to Rome, excepting her brute conquests, because, when its institutions were at their prime, her religion was at its lowest point, and there was no power of worth or generosity to be used in this freedom which she enjoyed. This is what the history, wholly within its own time, teaches. But when studied in its connection with the world's history before

and since, it has for us another moral lesson, which is wider still. For, in one word, to read these volumes before us with the author's spirit is to find, in that whole amazing course of Rome and her freedom, the perpetual prophecy of the coming of Christ. A prophecy, because a preparation for his day and his mission. The institutions of India, of Egypt, of Persia, of Phœnicia, of Greece, and of Judea had each left their stamp upon the world. God had taught a lesson in each separate impress made by those nations. India had shown a hierocracy; Egypt had joined to this a military caste; Persia had made "a trial of wider principles of government and of broader bands of union than the one or the other." Phœnicia and her greater daughter, Carthage, reared up merchant princes; and Greece showed her institutions, her culture, and her fate, as another lesson. All this while, side by side with the earliest and the latest of these, the Jews stood almost unchanged in character or principle, whether they triumphed in their happier days, or, in their darker, "stooped upon their knees to gather the still unfaded promises among the scattered ruins of Jerusalem." So wide are the sources from which, in those ancient days, the civilization, the institutions, of these, the world's more favored regions, have been born. And the exclusive jealousy with which each nation, if it can, clings to its own, is as intense in one of these earlier people as in another. The Persian is a barbarian to the Greek, the Greek is a child in the eyes of the Egyptian, the Egyptian is an abomination to the Jew, the Jew is the perpetual frontier enemy of the Phœnician, the Phœnician a mere huckster, a petty tradesman, to the Brahmin, and the Brahmin, with his Indian train, the rival in arms, through centuries, of the Persian. Each is seeking within itself its whole force. Each is repelling any light from foreign shrines. The spirit which charges Socrates with defaming the gods of Greece is the spirit which expels the Buddhists from India, when they suggest that the national faith is not perfection. It is the spirit which, in a convenient phrase, we speak of as the spirit of the Pharisee.

Such is the world of the fourth or fifth century before Christ; or rather, such is the more advanced portion of our world,—for of real savages there is nothing to be known; and that half the world whose name is China seems not yet to belong to our world,—it is, at the least, beyond our

knowledge. Now it is over these stubborn mountain-peaks of national pride, range frowning upon range, and summit echoing thunders back to summit, — it is over the gorges which seem fathomless between them, — that there is to roll the car of Christian redemption. The word of life is not to come to one people, except as it makes all people one. It is to be dispersed everywhere. It is to show itself God's work as it is thus dispersed. It is to be, therefore, not the ripened fruit merely of any one civilization. Rather is it to come in above all their products, even the best of them; using their analogies, indeed, and shedding light on their speculations, by giving to each of those speculations its law of after growth, and helping it to its end. The Christian faith is to be the one faith of all these people, and of all those savage tribes around them.

And for this, as in the moral world of Judea, so in the intellectual world of all intellectual nations, there must be a forerunner of the Gospel dispensation. The way of the Lord must be prepared among these nations. Of them every valley must be exalted, and every mountain and hill made low. The messenger to which God gave this charge was *Rome*. We can see, now all is over, what she never knew. Rome was to destroy the pride of every successful heathendom. Rome was to reduce every towering mountain of them all. Rome was to make the whole world an easy field for truth to travel over; Rome was to bind together these nations, which had been at sword's points; and while she yet worked kindly at this work, appointed by God, Rome's own power was to be dying out within her, so that her pride also should be gone, except as it flickered in the heart of some one pitiful emperor; — her humiliation also should be complete, at the moment when the universal Gospel, the Gospel of humility and peace, was ready to begin its course northward, southward, eastward, and westward, over all the world.

Rome was to humiliate the powers of the world, and then to fall in the midst of the humiliation she had wrought. And when one reads of Mummius exulting in the fall of Corinth, he sees him as one who is leading Paul on to his victories. When Carthage falls, one cannot but think of Augustine and the other lights which would never have shone upon that shore if Carthage had not fallen. And when Antony flings away the power which Egypt had gained in centuries of dead

study, — when the kings of the East fall one by one before proconsuls and their armies, — when Pompey enters the Holy of Holies, — he who reads of these things as instances only among a host of others like them cannot but feel that he is coming to the result at last, where all those older threads are spun together, and lose themselves, and from which all the threads of our modern life are drawn out in their myriad variety.

But in dwelling upon this baptism of humiliation which Rome was enabled to administer, we are keeping the reader from Mr. Eliot's own language. In the introductory chapters, he prepares us for this general view. At the close of his chapter on the Jews, he says : —

“ If this interpretation of Providence be correct, as it is humble, it follows that the recall of the Jews, as a religious, was unattended by any corresponding regeneration of them as a free nation. They appear, indeed, in an aspect of less security on their own part, that they were the favored race of all others upon the earth ; their intercourse with other nations seems to extend ; and, except with the phylacteried priest or the long-robed Pharisee, the pride of earlier times was buried beneath the wrecks of their independence. The redemption of humanity could be prepared only through humbleness for what had passed on earth, and hope for what was to come from Heaven.”—Vol. i. pp. 257, 258.

And, when fairly embarked in Roman history, he is constantly led to the same view. Here are a few of his suggestions : —

“ In reviewing a period like that embraced within the chapter here, at last, concluded, the Christian is naturally tempted to exaggerate the miseries, the discords, and the passions he has found, beyond all the evil which they actually wrought in the time of their existence. It is his consolation, on the other hand, to believe that the concentration of power and of corruption which he has seen to be prepared and partially achieved in a single city upon the earth, was ordered in mercy to mankind, however much they appear to be worn and torn. The same faith foresees the retribution appointed to those who seem at first only to profit by the spoils of victory and the overthrow of foes. Already hated by their subjects, corrupted by their multiplying slaves, and injured by one another, the Romans whom we have followed in the increase of their liberty must now be watched in its vain defence, and in its sure decay. ‘ A sound of battle is in the land and of great destruction ’ ; but is scarcely heard, before

'the hammer of the whole earth is cut asunder and broken.' And the prophecy against Babylon returns, fearful and solemn, against Rome."— Vol. II. pp. 209, 210.

"So far as humility amongst men was necessary for the preparation of a truer freedom than could ever be known under heathenism, the part of Rome, however dreadful, was yet sublime. It was not to unite, to discipline, or to fortify humanity, but to enervate, to loosen, and to scatter its forces, that the people whose history we have read were allowed to conquer the earth and were then themselves reduced to deep submission. Every good labor of theirs that failed was, by reason of what we esteem its failure, a step gained nearer to the end of the wellnigh universal evil that prevailed; while every bad achievement that may seem to us to have succeeded, temporarily or lastingly, with them was equally, by reason of its success, a progress towards the good of which the coming would have been longed and prayed for, could it have been comprehended. Alike in the virtues and in the vices of antiquity, we may read the progress towards its humiliation. Yet, on the other hand, it must not seem, at the last, that the disposition of the Romans, or of mankind, to submission, was secured solely through the errors and the apparently ineffectual toils which we have traced back to these times of old. Desires too true to have been wasted, and strivings too humane to have been unproductive, though all were overshadowed by passing wrongs, still gleam as if in anticipation or in preparation of the advancing day.

"At length, when it had been proved by ages of conflict and loss that no lasting joy and no abiding truth could be procured through the power, the freedom, or the faith of mankind, the angels sung their song, in which the glory of God and the goodwill of men were together blended. The universe was wrapped in momentary tranquillity, and 'peaceful was the night'* above the manger at Bethlehem. We may believe, that, when the morning came, the ignorance, the confusion, and the servitude of humanity had left their darkest forms amongst the midnight clouds. It was still, indeed, beyond the power of man to lay hold securely of the charity and the regeneration that were henceforth to be his law; and the indefinable terrors of the future, whether seen from the West or from the East, were not at once to be dispelled. But before the death of the Emperor Augustus, in the midst of his fallen subjects, the Business of THE FATHER had already been begun in the Temple at Jerusalem; and, near by, THE SON was increasing in wisdom and in stature and in favor with God and man.

* "The whole Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity is the best conclusion I can suggest to this history. Prudentius has some fine lines on the same theme. *Contra Symm.* II. 597 et seq."

"The sea, as it were, upon which wave has pursued wave through day and night, through years and centuries, before our eyes, is thus illumined with the approaching light which we have been waiting to behold. And as we stand upon the shore, conscious of the Spirit that has moved upon the face of the waters, we may lift our eyes with more confiding faith to the over-watching Heaven."

With this passage, which closes the book, we must close this notice of it, leaving unsaid many things which its study suggests to us. We trust that we have made some of its merits appear, as we have followed it along. Chief among those of manner is the ease with which it is written, so that it allures the reader, although he sees, all the while, that its material was gleaned from very rough fields. Mr. Eliot speaks of it as the first in a grand series. We wish him indeed full strength and time to carry that series on.

In his Preface he expresses a consciousness that his "disquisitions" will, like other "disquisitions," be sneered at. With us there has been a wish, rather, that they covered more ground, that he had not so resolutely pruned them down. The chapters on Roman philosophy, literature, and religion seem comparatively meagre, after the full views of all these matters with which the specially historical chapters abound. It seems as if they were written at another heat. For the narrative itself is crowded with bold and generous, as well as ingenious, comment.

As we came to the end of the book we had one more complaint to make of it, — that it is too short. That last century is so crowded with grandeur, — could we not have had a longer narrative, and more detail? Mr. Eliot is grave, and says no! For this is only the decay of liberty, and has very little to do with its history. For his purpose, he has been right, perhaps, in dwelling longest on the hardy, nervous days of the true Commonwealth and her men, whom he makes live for us indeed. But we cannot but wish, that, in some field or other, we could have him paint on a larger canvas his pictures of Cicero, whom he loves so, of Pompey, and of Cæsar. With his vivid power of narrative, what a picture we might have of that Napoleon-like Herod, — or of the new social classes who obtruded themselves upon Rome in those days, with their almost modern frivolity, foreign airs, and changing fashions.

But this is, perhaps, simply asking that the book were

longer. And we are too highly gratified with it as it is to press that rather ungracious request. We have only to speak of one criticism upon it, which we have been told that some one has said that somebody proposed to make upon it; namely, that it is charged with being the work of too young a man. We will speak with due modesty. With due reverence for white hairs, we will say that there are some things, which, in the nature of the case, young men must do better than their seniors. Not to say that they bear "*labores*" as well as they bear "*honores*" ill, let us plead, that to certain sympathies they are more alive, of certain passions better interpreters, than they will be when they have learned much more, but forgotten something too. And then let us apply this truth in this case. Can it be expected that an ancient German, his hair whitened with the dust of a thousand alcoves, shall understand, or can join in, the enthusiastic hopes of Tiberius Gracchus, or the almost frantic efforts of his brother Caius, who so mourned for him? Why, these are young men's efforts, hopes, wailings, and enthusiasms. These men died when they were no older than Mozart and Raphael were when they died. Or, — to take another instance, — who is it who leads an army in secession to Mons Sacer, or to the Aventine? Not its gray-haired men, — not those who have seen fifty mutinies fail, — but the young men who have passed the conventionalism of boyhood, and have not yet reached the readiness to wait which is the crown and glory of life-taught age. Or, — to speak of Roman history in general, — here is the history of a nation, which for centuries had the secret of perpetual youth; which conquered while it kept that secret, and declined when it lost it. Who shall write that history?

With all modesty, we must own, that if the author will give many years of life and prayer to it, — if he will follow it out in his travels abroad, — if he will plan his life at home to compass it, — if he will bravely comprehend the difficulties before him, and then by patient study solve them, one by one, — if he will do this as faithfully as Mr. Eliot has done it, with full faith, that is, in God and man alike, — we shall not regret that it is undertaken and published while he is still a young man.

E. E. H.

ART. VIII. — THE REV. JOHN PIERCE, D. D.*

MR. KNAPP'S Discourse is an affectionate and unexaggerated tribute to the memory of his aged colleague, — a tribute worthy of its subject and of its author. The Biographical Sketch, taken from the *Christian Inquirer*, is a brief, but very discriminating and faithful, memoir from the pen of one intimately connected with Dr. Pierce, knowing and appreciating him thoroughly.

We might enrich our pages by extracts from this little volume, and perhaps in so doing we should sufficiently discharge our duty of commemoration. But we think it proper that this journal should put on record an independent estimate of the mind and character of a man who has been so prominent and so well beloved. We will only take a few dates and facts from the Sketch before us.

"The Rev. JOHN PIERCE, D. D., senior pastor of the First Church in Brookline, Mass., was removed from this world, on Friday, 24th inst., at half past eleven o'clock, A. M., having attained here the age of seventy-six years, one month, and ten days. . . . Dr. Pierce was born in Dorchester, Mass., about four miles from Boston, July 14th, 1773. He was the oldest of ten children, six of whom still survive. His father, a shoemaker, and an honest, intelligent, religious man, died December 11th, 1833, aged ninety-one years, two months, and eight days. From earliest childhood he cherished the desire to go to college and to become a minister, — this desire being awakened, as he used to say, by hearing his parents, uncles, and aunts talk so incessantly of their brother, James Blake, a promising young clergyman, who died just after he began to preach. On leaving the school of the same maiden woman who taught his mother to read, he commenced the study of Latin, and in 1789 entered Harvard College. He took a high rank in his class, and at graduating (1793) delivered the second English oration, — the first being assigned to Judge (Charles) Jackson, the eminent jurist, still living. His whole college expenses amounted to \$ 296.06, — of which he had credit, as a beneficiary, for \$ 102.56. On taking his second degree he pronounced the Latin valedictory oration. After quitting Cam-

* *A Discourse, delivered at the Funeral of Rev. John Pierce, D. D., Senior Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Brookline, Mass., August 27th, 1849.* By FREDERIC N. KNAPP, Colleague. Together with a Biographical Sketch, reprinted from the *Christian Inquirer* (New York). Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1849. 16mo. pp. 64.

bridge, he was for two years assistant preceptor of the Academy in Leicester, Mass. He commenced (July, 1795) the study of theology, with Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, then recently settled in his native town; was 'approved' by the 'Boston Association,' Feb. 22d, 1796, and preached for the first time at Dorchester, March 6th, 1796. Having preached in several places, and filled for nearly four months a tutorship in Harvard College, he received and accepted a unanimous invitation to become the pastor of the First Church in Brookline, Mass., as the successor of Rev. Joseph Jackson, and was ordained March 15th, 1797. October 31st, 1798, he was married to Abigail Lovel, of Medway, one of his pupils at the Academy. She died July 2d, 1800, leaving an infant son, who survived his mother only two years. Dr. Pierce was married again, May 6th, 1802, to Lucy Tappan, of Northampton, who is now left his widow, after an union of the utmost harmony and affection extending through forty-seven years Dr. Pierce was the sole pastor of his church for half a century; and the interesting 'Jubilee,' when he completed the fiftieth year from the day of his ordination,—celebrated March 15th, 1847,—will be remembered by the many whose privilege it was to be present and listen to the hale, hearty, and cheerful clergyman, showing in his seventy-fourth year the vigor of youth. . . . For thirty-three years he was Secretary to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College. For several years he was President of the Massachusetts Bible Society; and also a faithful officer or active member of numerous other associations of a literary or philanthropic character." — pp. 32–35.

Any person attending the funeral of Dr. Pierce must have seen that he was a man of mark whom they were burying. There was a great concourse of people thronging with reverent and tender emotions around his coffin, and among them many men of eminent character and station. It was evident from many signs that those were not the obsequies of an ordinary man, or a mere official man. And those signs were not fallacious. He was a distinguished man. When his death was announced, it was everywhere taken much note of by the press, and, in conversation, spoken of with a feeling of interest, we found, by all sorts of persons in the neighbourhood, and far in the country. We suppose that there was hardly a man in Massachusetts whose person was known to so many individuals in the State. It is seldom that so many and hearty expressions of affectionate respect, from so many quarters, follow an old man to his grave.

And how came he to be thus distinguished? — This is a

question which, of course, has been often asked, and we repeat it now thoughtfully, and shall try to answer it. It may seem a question of some difficulty. For he had but a moderate share of those materials from which reputations are usually constructed. At college he was a diligent and successful scholar, and always retained his strong sympathy with scholarly pursuits and achievements; yet his learning, theological, classical, or scientific, was not extensive nor profound. The original resources of his mind were not great. He had not a spark of what is called genius. He had no eloquence in speech nor in writing. As a preacher he was not specially sought. He was nowise remarkable for the reach or strength of his understanding. He had little logic and less rhetoric. The only knowledge for which he was particularly noted was that of dates, and facts of contemporary personal history. He had good sense, and such soundness and sagacity of judgment as usually accompany integrity of mind and honest simplicity of purpose, but he was not deemed a sage or wise man, in such a sense, that his counsel was greatly sought in weighty and perplexed affairs. He always acquitted himself respectably on those public occasions on which he was called to officiate, but his published discourses do not constitute a permanently valuable addition to our literature. To those measures for ameliorating the condition of society in which he took part, he only contributed the testimony of his convictions and the weight of his character, — a large contribution surely, but still the question recurs, Whence came that weight of character? And, withal, his social position was only that of an humble country clergyman.

So our friend seems not to have been greatly favored with those qualities and circumstances which are the usual elements of public distinction. And yet we know that he was distinguished, with a widely extended and very desirable reputation. What is the secret of it? We shall find an answer where a Christian must most delight to find it, in the qualities of his heart and in the rectitude and purity of his life.

Whenever a man spends a life as long as that of our late friend in one spot or neighbourhood, and spends it in the diligent pursuance of his vocation, and has been found always just and upright, consistent, sincere, and truthful, exemplary in domestic relations and a kind neighbour, affable and sympathizing, — never formal, cold, nor mean, nor selfish, nor crowding, nor grasping, — without a sharp tongue or a ran-

corous spirit, — steady, friendly, benevolent, blameless, and devout, — bearing his trials well, and his temptations well, with none to taunt him with moral lapses, or charge him with social wrong, — keeping, we say, in one place, so as to be well known to two successive generations, — that man, when he dies, will be found to be distinguished. It may be within a narrow circuit, if his position be obscure, yet distinguished. And if he have a position only so conspicuous as that of a country clergyman, though without the least brilliancy of mental endowments or pulpit success, he will be found widely, greatly distinguished, and most honorably so.

Such a character and career imply a combination of gifts, efforts, and circumstances that is rare, more rare than the talents or social advantages which are the usual means of notoriety. Such a combination there was, to an eminent degree, in favor of the late minister of Brookline.

Born in Dorchester, he just moved over to that pleasant parsonage, — only going round by Cambridge for purposes of education, — and there he has dwelt for more than fifty years, and there he has died. During that period, we doubt if he has ever been accused of neglecting a duty or forgetting an appointment, or committing a mean, unjust, or immoral action, or speaking a false, or irreverent, or unkind, or insincere word.

But it would be unfair to describe him only by negatives. His was a positive character, and had great positive traits of excellence. He appears to have obeyed and carried out the two parts of the great commandment, to love God and love man, with unusual earnestness and thoroughness.

As to the first part, his personal religion was very positive. He was not a learned and acute theologian, but he was unfeignedly pious, and a firm and ardent believer. He did love and fear God with true practical devotion, and he was a disciple of Christ, in that he believed, and loved, and trusted his Master with all his heart.

His theological opinions, as to disputed points, were not, we suppose, very clearly defined in his own mind. As far as possible, he avoided taking sides in the great controversy between the Liberal and Orthodox parties, disclaimed all party relations and names to the last. And herein some may have thought that he showed an unworthy timidity or an unworthy courting of favor from both parties. But it could not have been from want of moral courage or from a time-

serving spirit. For see how early, strongly, and without reservation he committed himself on the Temperance question, everywhere declaring in his loudest tones — and they were loud indeed — his thorough-going, uncompromising ultraism on that subject, in opinion and practice ; and that course, in some stages and aspects of the movement, must have appeared quite as likely to make him enemies as any theological decision. And besides, he had a parish that would have sustained him, probably to a man, in taking ever so decidedly the side which he must have taken, if he were to take any, and which he did take virtually. His somewhat peculiar feelings and position in relation to sects and parties are not to be referred to any moral defect.

The truth is, his personal sympathies were so broad and strong, and warm, that he could not well bear to be separated from any body by party lines, — he so loved and yearned for good-fellowship among ministers. The lines were not drawn till some years after his ministry began ; and when he and so many of his brethren came to be excluded, abruptly cut off from the old Congregational communion, we can suppose that for a time, until he became used to it, it must have been the great grief of his heart to be suddenly turned out of doors by his old friends, ignored by them as a brother-minister of Christ, excluded from their pulpits and their fellowship. How it must have astonished and wounded him, — feeling that he was as orthodox, as sound in the faith, as ever he was, or as they were ! And what a commentary it is on that stern policy of exclusion, that it shut out him as no Christian or Christian minister, — him, who was a minister through and through, and with all his heart, from his very infancy, — him, so pure a man, so evangelical in all his beliefs and words, such a real, hearty, fixed, old-fashioned, Bible Christian !

But he was only grieved, not alienated or embittered. He did not defy his former associates, or go into the opposite ranks to contend against them. He loved them just the same, — would not be driven from his familiar associations with them, — and, to the last, took as much interest in them and their institutions, their public occasions, and all their religious affairs, as he did in the affairs of those friends who were excluded with him, and who were ever ready to hail him as father, and reciprocate his confidence. And yet he was always true to his Liberal friends. When he found they

were to be driven asunder from their old associations, he did not hesitate to go with them. And we know that to the end of his life he rejoiced that such had been his decision. It would have been violence to his whole nature to have joined what he always considered the illiberal side.

His theological views, probably, never underwent any material change from his early youth to the day of his death,—none, that is, which he was distinctly conscious of. If he was carried along at all by the progress of opinion around him, he was hardly aware of any change of position in himself. His mind was not of a character to discriminate sharply between shades of doctrinal differences, and being himself where he always was, he could see no more reason for a sectarian division of the Congregational body in 1815 than in 1790. He was strictly conservative in theology. He entertained none of the speculations of the time, accepted no novelties, would give no hearing to those who promised to show a better way of truth than that which he had long walked in. He had early anchored his mind fast upon the Bible, and found his Saviour, and learned, as he thought, to read his law, and rest upon his promises, and through him to “worship the Father in spirit and in truth,” and he did not think that any body could teach him any thing more or better than this. He thought that the important truths of Christianity were as plain to the spiritual understanding as they were ever likely to be made by human learning, and he did not want any young man to give him his spiritual intuitions as substitutes for the old texts about righteousness and love, grace and peace, joy in the Holy Ghost, and the resurrection of the just to eternal life. He thought he had long known well enough in whom he believed, and the way of salvation. So his faith grew up with him, and grew old with him. It seems never to have suffered any distractions or perplexities. He was very firm and very happy in it, and while it gave him a high standard of virtue, humility, and pious trust, he never troubled himself to suit it to the fashion or the philosophy of the day, and never saw any occasion to relay its foundations, or change its substance, or distrust old proofs of it, or search for new ones.

There is certainly something very respectable, to say the least, in that sort of mind that can go on through a long life in one religious track, turning neither to the right nor the left, let the wind of doctrine blow about him which way it would,

— not indifferent, not cold, not a mere conformist, — warm, living, but steady, always the same, early finding the rock, and, assured it is the rock of ages, planting itself upon it, and never swerving, though all the world say, Lo here ! and Lo there ! There is some grandeur in such a position and career. We do not say that it is practicable or desirable for all persons. We do not say that it indicates the highest type of mind. It is not from minds of that stamp, perhaps, that the highest spiritual benefactions have proceeded. The world wants some bold, inquiring, progressive minds, and God wants them, for he has provided that there shall be such. Not all minds *can* abide in one stay. They must be sounding new depths ; they must be looking always to the east and the west for more light ; going forward, inquiring, proving, recasting their religious ideas. It is a necessity of their nature or their circumstances, and it is well. We will not say that they ought to do or be otherwise. But we do say, that whoever finds himself able and disposed to go through life in one settled faith, and that living and life-giving, — needing no change, and seeking none, enjoying it, resting in it, living by it, and ever striving to live it out more and more in charity and in peace, — he is happy, — he need not fear the taunts of the restless and progressive, who cannot be fixed themselves, nor bear to see any fixtures about them. He need not feel obliged to quit the tranquil lake because some call it stagnant, nor to launch upon the turbulent stream because some say there only is life. He will be countenanced by the examples of multitudes of as venerable and beautiful lives as ever were lived on earth, or closed in the hope of heaven.

In the other half of the Christian law, love to man, Dr. Pierce was not lacking. The most striking part of his character lay here. He had the kindest of natures. His heart seemed a fountain of loving-kindness, always gushing up and running over. Time, and experience of the world's coldness, never checked its stream or dried up a drop of it. What a cordial greeting was his ! What a beaming friendliness on his face ! We never knew the person who took so hearty an interest in so many people, and showed it by such unequivocal signs. He seemed to know almost every body, and all about him. And it was not an idle, prurient curiosity ; if it had been, it would have run into scandal, as it usually does in those who make it a business to know and report every body's affairs. He had no scandal. His love saved him from that. He

said pleasant things and kind things. There was no venom under his tongue, no acid in his breast. He probably never made an enemy, nor lost a friend. His affections were warm, his sympathies were quick. He was generous according to his means. He loved young men. For more than fifty years, without interruption, we have been told, he travelled to Cambridge several times a year to attend the public exercises, and listened to every student with fond eagerness, as to a son of his own, and for ever after remembered him, and in most cases knew all about him.

Age did not blunt these kind feelings, or quench one ray of their youthful glow. Here he was remarkable. Age did not tend in the least to make him shrink into himself, or to narrow the circle of his sympathies. After seventy he would start off with the ardor of a schoolboy, and walk miles, just to see an old friend, and would live for months after on the pleasure of the interview. And he not only loved other people, but he loved to be loved. He seemed to value nothing in this world so much as kind attention, affection, good-fellowship.

He was welcomed in all the pulpits to which he had access, not so much on account of his preaching as on his own account. People liked to see him and hear his voice, especially in singing, because his soul was in it. They liked to see him, he seemed such a personal friend. His bare presence was as acceptable to many, and perhaps as profitable, as the sermons of some much greater men, — he was so sincere, so hearty, so kind. A word from him, with his great, cordial, friendly voice, at the church-door or in the aisle, would, for multitudes, make ample amends for any dryness in the regular discourse.

It is very singular that such warm affections towards both God and man did not impart their unction to his intellect, and give a character of rich and glowing sentiment to his composition; but we believe they did not. They did lend animation and force to his delivery, but never gave their fire to his composition. He was not eloquent, or poetical, or affecting, in his writing. Somehow there was a connecting link missing between his heart and his intellect. With feelings fresh, and warm, and pure enough to have made him a poet, an orator, and a splendid writer, he was not a bit of either. It was a singular instance of disconnection between the two parts of the mind. His great, fervent heart is not in his writ-

ings. But no matter, — he had it, and every body knew he had it, and felt the influence of it, was warmed by its radiance, and gladdened by its benignity.

There is, then, no mystery about his extended reputation. This is the way it came, — by natural laws, interest for interest ; all knew him, because he knew all ; all loved him, for he loved all ; all are touched by his death, for all have lost a friend.

Our view of Dr. Pierce would be incomplete without some reference to his last days. Providence greatly favored him in his last sickness. His faculties were not impaired, and he was without pain. He was able, till the last, to sit up in his study and receive his friends. And how they poured in upon him ! and how glad he was to see them ! — overwhelmed, he said, with joy at their kindness. It was so congenial to him, that it seemed not to weary him. And he was so cheerful, so happy, — nothing but happiness, he said, in his past life or present decay ; happy, when he laid his hands on the children that came to him ; happy in taking from kind hands the tokens of thoughtful regard that were brought to him ; happy in greeting the troops of brethren and parishioners ; happy in the grasp, that he knew would be the last, of a life-long friend, and happy in the tears of affection he shed on the neck of a foreigner whom he never saw before, but loved tenderly, as the apostle of temperance and the benefactor of his race ; happy, too, in pointing to the green spot before his house, where he said he should soon be laid ; and happiest of all in the prospect of the life that was about to dawn on him. His faith was firm, his trust unflinching. He not only submitted to God's will, — he loved it and made it his own. He loved God and man, earth and heaven, more than ever. And one could hardly tell with which hand his heart went out with most energy and warmth, that which grasped the dear ties of domestic and friendly love on earth, or that which pointed in joyous and triumphant assurance to the opening mansions of the blest.

“ That is greatness,” said one of our greatest men, referring to one of those interviews with him in his sickness, — “ that is greatness. We did not use to call him great, but he is great *now* ; and what we commonly call great is very little compared with that.”

G. P.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Sermons by Rev. Jason Whitman, with a Sketch of his Life and Character, and Extracts from his Correspondence. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 1849. 16mo. pp. 415.

For the acceptable service which the Rev. A. P. Peabody has rendered to the Christian community in the preparation of this volume, the thanks of Mr. Whitman's friends are especially due. To no one could the labor have been more appropriately intrusted than to him, who offers the most significant and fragrant tribute to the memory of the departed, when he says, "We feel that the residue of our pilgrimage will be richer and happier, because we have trodden so much of the way at his side, — that the sweet counsel we have taken together will help guide us to the rest into which he has entered, and fit us for the joy to which he has gone." All who read this Memoir, and who knew its subject, will join us in attesting to its justice, its fidelity, and its graceful delineation of Mr. Whitman's character; and join with us, too, in wishing to reverse the sentiment he expresses, — "More inadequate than brief has been this tribute to our friend's blessed memory," — and say, "Too brief, indeed, but most adequate." We think that we can appreciate the motives that induced him to use such brevity, when we peruse the valuable correspondence of Mr. Whitman with his parishioners. These letters are so truly pastoral, so replete with good judgment, with fervent piety, — evince so clear a discernment of the nature and necessities of the spiritual life, — are so laden with wholesome home truths, — and portray withal so deep a sympathy and such Christian fellowship, — that Mr. Peabody judged rightly that they would serve in an important degree to delineate his character. We know that they are suited to leave a just impression of what Mr. Whitman was in daily conversation, and in his communion with his people. Through an affectionate sympathy, he was approachable by all. The young inquirer sought communion with him in entire confidence that religious aspirations would be fervently welcomed, the difficulties of spiritual progress be understood and explained, and efficient guidance be rendered to the conquests of the Christian life. Many such, therefore, resorted to him; and when they could not be privileged with personal communion, being at a distance, would seek the suggestions of his ever-ready pen and more ready heart. These letters, too, may offer suggestions to his brethren in the ministry, not so much as to the manner in which they ought to write and speak, — direct, plain, frank, from

the heart, *to the heart*, — but chiefly as to the mode most effectual for promoting religious progress, and most sought by their people, of making the great realities of Christian truth instrumental in the salvation of the world. It may be said of him, that, with the high intellectual tone of all he said and wrote, he was mostly the advocate of *experimental* religion. Nor can we omit the remark, that in the fulfilment of the pastoral office it is, after all, that the efficacy of the ministry in our day is to be found. It is in danger of being merged in the increased intellectual manifestations of these times, but is as important as ever. We cannot but feel, that, much as the minister of Christ may delight his people by lucid and powerful expositions of divine truth, he *saves* them in proportion as he enters truly and completely into the office and relation of pastor. As a reformatory preacher, he may — he must, if he would be accepted of Christ — do much for the wide and comprehensive interests of suffering humanity. But he is set for the salvation of his own people especially, and of them must his first account be rendered. Will not the ministry become permanent, as this idea is more and more realized?

Of the character of Mr. Whitman, all will recognize some of the distinctive elements in the portraiture of the Memoir. Mr. Peabody says, — “In analyzing his character, the trait on which we love most to dwell is his simple, unaffected piety, breathing, as it did, in the details of daily life, bathing in its spirit common words and indifferent actions, and making us feel — with less of the ostentation of religious sentiment than we almost ever knew in a person professedly religious — that, ‘whether he ate or drank, or whatever he did, he did all to the glory of God.’” This is strictly, absolutely true. A brief acquaintance would satisfy any one of the fact. Yet, whilst all must love to dwell upon such a manifestation of Christian character, it has appeared to us as we have thought of the departed, as it did continually during his life, that the earnestness, the enthusiasm, with which he grasped every subject that commended itself to his mind, and entered upon every duty that he recognized as such, was the peculiar atmosphere he breathed, the life of his soul. Others have possessed a piety, it may be, like his, and it is always lovely to dwell upon it; but is it not more frequently seen in temperaments naturally much less active, buoyant, and enthusiastic? And here, if we mistake not, may we perceive the great excellence of that piety to which the Memoir refers. Mr. Whitman was alive to all wise plans of benevolence, deeply interested in reformatory movements, and awake to all the grand questions, the animating prospects and hopes, of the present age. His nature was quickly roused, and a mere spark of generous thought or hope kindled his whole being to intense thought, powerful utterance, and

benevolent action ; and at the same time there was this precious vein "of simple, unaffected piety" pervading all. To retain and preserve such a spirit with such an enthusiasm was a triumph of Christian faith, and its contemplation may afford rich gratification.

The Discourses in the volume before us we recognize as among his most effective pulpit ministrations. Our space will not allow us to dwell upon them as we could wish. Those have affected our minds as some of the most valuable which appear under the following titles : — "Religion amidst Business" ; "The Mission of Sorrow" ; "Regeneration" ; "Self-delusion" ; "Tests of Christian Character" ; "Party Spirit" ; "The Danger of Vicious Associates" ; "Farewell" ; and "The Pastoral Office." All the Discourses will speak for themselves far better than we can speak for or of them. To those who were privileged to sit under his preaching, they will need no commendation ; and we confidently intrust them to the Christian reader, well assured that he will be grateful for their genial sympathies with all pure aspirations, for their thorough treatment of whatever subject they touch upon, for their practical good-sense, and for the aid they all may render in the formation of character.

We cannot conclude without congratulating our Unitarian community upon its rapidly increasing sacred literature. So many pure and blessed spirits, the lights of our denomination, as have been cut down within a few years, are greatly missed from their active labors among us. But when such records of what they were, what they said, and what they did, are preserved to us, we have very much to console us in our bereavement.

The Stars and the Earth ; or Thoughts upon Space, Time, and Eternity. From the Third English Edition. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1849. pp. 88.

If any persons are still oppressed with the fear that science is destined to put an end to faith and poetry, that facts, as they shall come to light, will contradict belief, and leave to the imagination no room to play in, they should read this delightful little book, and correct the delusion at once. The creations of God are more wonderful and inspiring when they are understood than when they are misunderstood. It is a part of our want of faith, the fancy to which we are continually giving way, that what we would fain believe to be facts are better and more attractive than the real facts. This faithlessness pursues us into every department of thought and action, baptizes timidity with the name of reverence, and imposes unnatural and harmful restraints upon

free thought and the various works of reform. We cannot give up our dear old world. The new heavens and the new earth will not, we are sure, be one half so beautiful.

But what is the chariot of Phœbus to the real sun? What are all the imaginations in which an uninstructed world has indulged concerning the heavens and their treasures, compared with the scientific truths taught by astronomy, — such truths as are told in this little work?

Struve and Bessel have interpreted for us a portion of that starry mystery which makes night so holy and so beautiful. We have known, since their labors, that the nearest fixed star, the brightest in the constellation of Centaur, is about eighteen billions of miles distant from us, and accordingly, that the light which comes to us from it must be about three years on its way. Further calculations show that four thousand years are requisite to convey light to us from a star of the twelfth magnitude. Taking these facts and the like, our author calls attention to the converse of them, that as we see so are we seen, after longer or shorter intervals of time, as the looker on is more or less removed. "Thus the universe incloses the pictures of the past, like an indestructible and incorruptible record, containing the purest and clearest truth." Hence the wonderful conclusions, that to God, and to man likewise, let vision and motion adequate be granted, "a thousand years are as one day." It will be apparent at a glance, that truth of this sort admits of most striking and numberless applications.

The second part of this little book, though very ingenious, seems to us rather curious than profitable; it is very attractive as a speculation, but the opinion expressed by the writer of the Introductory Letter, concerning the soundness of the arguments, is certainly correct. The author does not succeed in showing that indefinite contraction and annihilation are the same. A change of scale does not take us out of time and space. We most cordially commend the book to every lover of science and religion. Ingenuity, even if it is misplaced, almost secures our commendation when it is engaged in the service of sincerity; and the first part of this work does not need this or any apology.

The Canton Chinese, or the American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire. By OSMOND TIFFANY, Jr. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 271.

THE author gives, in his Preface, an evidently honest and fairly told account of himself and of his book, and at once wins our confidence. There are no books of foreign travel and observa-

tion which are more heartily desired now, than those which inform us of China and the Chinese, and if such books come to us with an authority on which we may rely, if they contain matters of actual eyesight and fair report, they will be readily and thankfully received. We believe that this book is one of such a character. The writer roamed the streets of Canton with his eyes open, confirming his previous belief that the Chinese had been underrated. He determined to report nothing but what he knew and saw, not even to quote from other books matters of history. After recording his own observations of several months, he submitted them to a gentleman who had resided in China for years, and then referred to works of established authority. The volume bears out the author's account of its origin. It is fresh, lively, and unsophisticated. More than all, we are pleased that as we read we can believe.

A General French and English Dictionary. Newly composed from the French Dictionaries of the French Academy, Laveaux, Boiste, Bescherelle, &c., from the English Dictionaries of Johnson, Webster, Richardson, &c., and the Special Dictionaries and Works of both Languages, &c., &c., &c. By A. SPIERS. Paris : Baudry. Boston : Little & Brown. 1849. 8vo. pp. 616 and 716.

A DICTIONARY of a foreign language, in order to be extensively useful, should combine, among others, the following requisites. It should contain a copious vocabulary, full and accurate definitions of the words and phrases of each tongue in the corresponding synonymes of the other, and the idiomatic peculiarities of the languages which it purports to teach. It must be adapted to the existing state of literature and science, or, at least, to the standard writings of the age; it should indicate, as far as practicable, the irregularities of each language; and the whole matter should be arranged and exhibited in such a form as to be most easily and readily accessible to the student. The work before us possesses, in a remarkable degree, most of these essential qualities. In comparing it with other dictionaries that have enjoyed no inconsiderable reputation, we find in it a great number of words, used in the writings of the day, or in the intercourse of life, for which we should search in vain elsewhere, except in the most voluminous and expensive lexicons. The definitions, founded upon the standard works of the Academy, Laveaux, Boiste, and Bescherelle, in French, of Johnson, Richardson, and Webster, in English, together with the established usage in common life, are remarkable for their accuracy, showing, on the part of the au-

thor, much research, acute discrimination, and a thorough knowledge of both languages. The terms of art and science, geographical and classical names, and those of weights and measures, with their comparative values, add much to the merit of the work. By the liberal use of signs and abbreviations, a vast amount of information is conveyed within a moderate space and at a low price. One fault, however, should not pass unnoticed. The mechanical execution of the copy before us is not such as that of a manual should be. We do not object to the dark paper, but there is an indistinctness in the type, especially manifest in the accents, which we hope and trust will be remedied in future editions. Yet, as a whole, we would commend the work as decidedly the best of its kind extant.

Messrs. Little & Brown have just received an edition of the work, on fair, white, and very strong paper, and we are glad to learn that yet another edition will soon appear, presenting this valuable Dictionary in the highest style of art.

Nature; Addresses and Lectures. By R. W. EMERSON. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 383.

DOUBTLESS there is nothing in this volume which the admirers of its distinguished author have not already in possession. But the contents of it have never appeared together before, nor in such an inviting form. The fair type and paper will even help to the better understanding of some of the oracles in these pages. We apprehend that the highest, the most enduring, and the most just encomium which Emerson will receive will not be from the coterie who regard him as an inspired seer, but from the larger, the more discriminating, and the really more intelligent body of his readers, who find on every page of his proofs of a most pure spirit and a loving heart, without one breathing of an unholy or rancorous feeling. Nine Addresses and Lectures, before various literary societies and lyceums, beside the Essay on Nature, compose the contents of this volume, which will be as original a century hence as it is now.

Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome. Being Notes of Conversations held with certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion in the City of Rome. By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849. 12mo. pp. 237.

THE title of this volume gives a fair account of its contents, and will not excite in the reader any expectation which it will not

fulfil. All that the reader will desire will be to have perfect confidence in the account which the author gives of his interviews, and in the reports of the statements of his entertainers. His truthfulness we have no reason to doubt. The author has previously published, in his "Pilgrimage to Rome," such matters as are usually found in the note-books of observing tourists. Through his wife and a Roman gentleman, and by permission of the Father-General of the Jesuits, he was brought into an acquaintance with two members of that Order, who introduced him to others, — conversations with whom are professedly reported in this volume. The author says he was careful to undeceive them of their impression, that he was one of the supposed large number of the clergy of the Church of England who are dissatisfied with their present communion, and favorably inclined towards Rome. At the same time he assured them, that, if they could lessen his objections to their Church and his confidence in his own, he should join them. The conversations were committed to paper as soon as closed. The effect on Mr. Seymour was to remove some of his prejudices, and to enlarge his views of the limit within which human nature ranges. The volume is entertaining and instructive, with considerable variety of information.

Scenes where the Tempter has triumphed. By the Author of "The Jail Chaplain." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849. 16mo. pp. 277.

THE author of this volume believes that loosely written records of successful crime poison the morals of an entire community, and increase the confidence of escape and impunity by which many criminals are deluded. He writes his book to prove that "there is no such thing as successful villany." His narratives, startling and instructive, are the records of actual facts, with real names, attached to a variety of crimes.

THE Address delivered before the Graduating Class of the Divinity School in Cambridge, July 15, by Rev. F. H. Hedge, (Cambridge, Bartlett, 8vo, pp. 30,) is one of those fresh utterances of earnest thought which is sure in these days to involve debatable matter. No one could fairly criticize this brilliant discourse without exceeding it in length. The author maintains, that the true catholicism consists in viewing all the varieties of professed Christianity as the noblest and most adequate expression of the Christian idea. He recognizes a providence and a purpose in the Trinitarian doctrine, and though he cannot find it in

the New Testament, is willing to admit that it was not an accident, but a providence, which placed it in the Church. This and even more startling assertions are mingled in with indisputable truths which are eloquently expressed by the author. The distinction between theology and religion is perhaps pressed too far, considering the unavoidable vagueness of the meaning of words. If Mr. Hedge would expand his discourse into a volume, it would be sure to find many readers, sharp critics, and vigorous defenders and admirers.

A Discourse preached in the Mount Pleasant Church, Roxbury, by the Pastor, Rev. W. R. Alger, (Boston, Crosby & Nichols, 8vo, pp. 30,) made a good use of the National Fast Day, August 3, by drawing "Inferences from the Pestilence and the Fast." Besides the general token of a Providence, which the preacher finds in the cholera, he interprets it as coming with particular messages to us, as suggesting the thought of existing evils which we are to remove, the physical, social, and personal sins which prevail among us, and as rebuking us for our support of wrong, our selfishness, and our indifference to high truths. Such sermons ought to do good.

We have perused with interest a pamphlet bearing the following title : — "Speeches of Mr. Hopkins, of Northampton, on the Bill to incorporate the College of the Holy Cross in the City of Worcester ; delivered in the House of Representatives, April 24 and 25, 1849. With an Introductory Letter to the Members of the House." (Northampton, Butler & Bridgman, 8vo, pp. 44.) Mr. Hopkins was Chairman of the Committee the majority of which reported unfavorably to the prayer of the petitioners for the incorporation of the Jesuits' College in Worcester. His own able speeches, of which the newspapers gave at the time imperfect reports, are here printed at length, with notes in support and illustration of their arguments. Mr. Brownson reviewed the reports and debates on that question in his *Quarterly Review*, and copies of the article were extensively distributed. Mr. Brownson assumes that the case was decided without being thoroughly examined and presented. Mr. Hopkins, in his "Letter," sets himself to disprove this assumption, and argues that the case was deliberately and thoroughly debated and fairly decided.

"A Letter to a Young Man who has just entered College, from an Older One who has been through," (Boston, Crosby & Nichols, 12mo, pp. 39,) contains many excellent counsels and remarks upon the healthy training of mind and body in college life, with warnings drawn from experience against the neglect of health, and high moral and religious admonitions. We regret that one or two unwise and unnecessary remarks incidentally uttered in the pamphlet, and which we are disposed to charge upon some

remnant of dyspeptic sufferings, will make many parents unwilling to put this Letter into the hands of their sons.

A pamphlet "On the Character and Work of Christ," by William B. Hayden, (Boston, Otis Clapp, 12mo, pp. 83,) is dedicated to Dr. Bushnell, "partly because his positions have called forth these remarks, and partly because he has ventured to stand alone for the truth." Commendation and criticism share its contents, which are chiefly occupied with an examination of Dr. Bushnell's theories of the Incarnation and the Atonement. We lack either the taste to appreciate, or the intellectual ability to understand, the value of this and of similar subtle controversies on perplexing distinctions and visionary theories.

Mr. George R. Russell's Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Providence, Sept. 4, 1849, (Boston, Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, 8vo,) bears the title of "The Merchant." We do not hesitate to pronounce it as among the very highest specimens of the kind of addresses to which it belongs. Very few merely literary men could have written it. It sums up the results of a vast amount of the most judiciously chosen reading, and of keen observation extended over a wide range of men and things. Its sterling common-sense, its practical philosophy, and its generous superiority to all class prejudices, strike us on every page. The merchants may be proud of their representative before a literary society, and may feel that the dignity of their calling has been enhanced by this pamphlet, which is in no sense a plea for them, but simply a manly sketch of their place in the world's history and prosperity. After a fine exordium on the relation between commerce and culture, the oration presents a most lively and thorough survey of the history of commerce through all ages, all the world over, and then records briefly what it has done for man. In some brilliant pages near the close, the merchant turns the tables upon the college man, and, instead of apologizing for meddling with his themes, bids the scholar enlarge and improve the sphere of his professional calling by a livelier spirit, a more practical hand, and a hopeful belief that the world has yet rewards enough for all faithful toilers.

THE rooms now occupied by Messrs. Little & Brown, on Washington Street, constitute together by far the largest establishment in the book business that can be found on this side of the water, with one exception. The Messrs. Harpers' publishing and printing offices are, of course, much larger, but their stock is composed of reprints and of domestic works, unlike that of Messrs. Little & Brown. Here we find, from time to time, fresh importations of the most costly works in science, art,

and general literature. They have recently received a splendid copy of Pistoletti, "The Vatican, described and illustrated," 8 vols. 4to, Rome, in which all the architectural, antiquarian, pictorial, sculptural, and mosaic treasures gathered in St. Peter's and the Vatican are represented in sharply-cut line engravings, and described in attractive letter-press. These rich volumes ought to grace one of our public libraries.—The study of classical antiquities, especially of Greek and Roman biography and mythology, has been made far more instructive and attractive than in the pages of Lemprière, by four new volumes on those subjects, of which Messrs. Little & Brown have imported a large edition. They are, a "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," in 3 vols. 8vo, and a "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," in 1 vol. 8vo, all edited by William Smith, LL. D. The editor has had the help of the most distinguished scholars, and their initials, to which there is a key, are affixed to their contributions. The most elaborate investigations, and their results, are here brought before the reader in a way that hardly admits of improvement, and the pages are illustrated by wood engravings.

Very rich editions of those two favorite books of childhood, "Watts's Divine Songs," and "Æsop's Fables," published in London, with all the attractions of modern art, will also be found at Little & Brown's.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., finding that their duodecimo edition of Macaulay's History was received with such favor, have undertaken the publication of Hume's History of England in the same style, and have already issued three volumes of it. This edition is offered at a very low price, remuneration being looked for from a very extensive sale, which we are glad to see rewards the enterprise of the publishers. The edition is every way suited to the wants of the large mass of readers, and when its publication is completed, with that of Macaulay's, the two works placed on a shelf will bring Tory and Whig into as harmonious a union as will probably be ever realized between them in this world.

The same publishers are issuing an elegant edition of Shakespeare, with remarks and notes, original and selected. It appears in semi-monthly numbers, each of which contains a play complete, with a steel engraving of its heroine. The type and paper are of the finest character, and the price is but twenty-five cents. Two numbers have been published.

From the same enterprising firm we have received Lamartine's History of the French Revolution of 1848, translated by Francis A. Durivage and William S. Chase, with an engraving of Lamartine. Of course no one can expect a sufficient history of such an event so soon after its occurrence, nor from an actor in it, especially if the writer be a poet. But Lamartine aims at perfect

truth ; his pages glow with the earnestness of sincerity, and the brilliancy of genius, and we may be sure that this French Revolution will never find a more interesting or graphic chronicler.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields have in preparation a most attractive variety of new volumes, among which are the following, which will, one by one, offer instruction or amusement for readers during the coming winter. Professor Felton, of Cambridge, has expanded his *Lecture on the Acadians* into a *History*. Longfellow promises a new volume of *Poems*, "*The Seaside and the Fireside*." "*The Boston Book for 1850*" will be an improvement on its predecessors. A new and enlarged edition of Dr. Holmes's *Poems* is called for, and will soon appear. Under the title of "*Heroines of the Church*," we are to have memoirs of distinguished American female missionaries. A new edition of the *Liturgy* used at King's Chapel is in preparation. A volume of *Miscellanies* from John G. Whittier, and one of *Essays, Lectures, and Miscellanies*, from Henry Giles, will find ready readers. The publications of this firm do credit to the American press, in every thing that belongs to art and good taste.

We hope, before another number of the *Examiner* is issued, to have in hand the first volume of Rev. William Ware's *Biographies of Distinguished American Liberal Ministers*, embracing the whole or a good part of the following honored names : — Worcester, Freeman, Bancroft, Mottey, Ripley, Thayer, Allyn, Ware, Harris, Porter, Emerson, Prince, and Kirkland.

Mr. Francis Bowen's two courses of *Lectures* before the Lowell Institute on "*The Application of Metaphysical and Ethical Science to the Evidences of Religion*," have been published in a very elegant form, in a large octavo volume, by Messrs. Little & Brown. We hope to do justice to them in our next number.

Professor Walker, of Harvard College, has edited a new edition of Stewart's "*Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*," revised, with omissions and additions (Cambridge, John Bartlett, 12mo, pp. 428). The peculiarities of this edition are designed to make it more suitable for a college text-book, and we should judge that this design had been most discreetly and successfully attained. That portion of the original work which discussed the evidence and doctrines of natural religion, being apart from its main object, has been omitted, as have been some passages not essential to the chief purpose of the volume. Illustrative notes, chiefly from various living or late writers, have been introduced, the Latin and Greek citations of the author have been translated, and sub-sections are indicated, which will greatly facilitate a methodical study of this excellent work. The notes constitute a running criticism upon it.

"*A Review of Trinitarianism*," by John Barling, (London, J. Chapman,) shall be noticed in our next number.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The Peace Congress at Paris. — The English and American journals have made repeated mention of the Convention of the Friends of Peace in the capital of France in the month of August, and have reported its progress and results. Various judgments have been passed upon the measure, the extremes of opinion concerning it having pronounced it, on the one hand, an amiable exhibition of an impracticable philanthropy, and, on the other hand, an expression of the highest wisdom and progress of our age, indicating the early triumph of Christian principles. We might keep within the limits of these extremes of judgment, and speculate at length upon the measure, though all our convictions and hopes are on the side of the most ardent members of the Congress. But, leaving all speculation upon the purposes and the practicability of the views of that Congress to such a faithful treatment as we hope the subject may very soon receive in our pages, we shall now content ourselves with a statement of the historical fact, and of the proceedings of that every way successful Convention at Paris.

William Penn was the first to propose the principles of international arbitration. The proposition has been repeatedly urged, and its feasibility illustrated in this country, especially by those honored and faithful laborers in the cause of peace, Worcester and Ladd. We observe with pleasure, that a copy of the engraved portrait of Worcester was presented to each of the members of the Congress at Paris. The first Peace Congress was held in London in 1843, and it was attended by some twenty-five delegates from the United States, and by many from various parts of the European continent. Last year another was held at Brussels, attended by one hundred and fifty delegates from England and the United States, and by as many from the Continent. Interest in the measure has been kept alive among the people of England by speeches, and public meetings, and frequent publications, and by the labors of Elihu Burritt and of Richard Cobden, M. P. One hundred and fifty meetings have been held in different parts of England. One thousand petitions have been sent to Parliament in favor of peace principles and international arbitration, and eighty-one members of the House of Commons voted in their support.

Paris certainly seemed rather an unpromising place in which to hold the third annual convention, but the friends of the measure judged wisely in their selection. Seven and a half centuries ago France witnessed a representative gathering of Europe, at Clermont. The tomb of Christ was the object then ; now it was his doctrine and spirit which called together his, at least, better informed disciples. Considering that no delegated authority could be claimed by the members of the Peace Congress, it still bore very much of a representative character, as members of many constitutional bodies took leading parts in it. A preliminary meeting of English and American members of the Convention was held in London, to facilitate the arrangements and to allow in-

roductions. To this is to be ascribed much of the admirable order and harmony in which the measures were carried out. A party of seven hundred left London on the day appointed, and, after a public welcome from the authorities of Boulogne, where they landed, they passed on to Paris, relieved of all the annoyances of passports and custom-houses by the grateful favor of the government.

The Congress opened at Paris on Wednesday, August 22d, and continued through three days, with one session of five hours in each day, in the Salle St. Cecile, a large and elegant concert-hall. More than a thousand persons were gathered from the various nations whose flags waved above them, and the delegates were of both sexes. Among the citizens of the United States, who were prominent, were Elihu Burritt, Hon. C. Durkee, member of Congress from Wisconsin, Rev. Dr. Mahan, President of Oberlin Institute, Ohio, Rev. Dr. Allen, late President of Bowdoin College, Maine, Amasa Walker, Esq., Vice-President of the American Peace Society, and Rev. J. F. Clarke, of Boston.

The committee had invited the Archbishop of Paris to preside, but ill-health compelled him to decline the honor, and frustrated his intention of being present and of receiving the delegates at a *fête* at his palace. M. Victor Hugo was announced by the Secretary as the President of the Congress, and on either side of him, as two of the Vice-Presidents, were the Roman Catholic Abbé Duguerry, and the Protestant Pasteur Coquerel. The Archbishop of Paris was chosen an honorary Vice-President. Judicious rules of business and debate were adopted harmoniously, one of which prohibited "any direct allusion to the political events of the day." Prizes for peace essays were distributed, and a new prize — a gold medal of a hundred dollars' value — was offered for the best collection of peace sentiments, collected from writers in all languages, times, and lands.

Many admirable speeches were delivered, the most effective being those of the President, of Mr. Cobden, of Mr. Miall of the London "Nonconformist," and of M. Emile de Girardin, the erratic genius of "La Presse," the principal French journal. Those who did not give in their full adherence to the principles of the Congress, as Messrs. Billecoq and Feline, were received with marked disapprobation. The following are the resolutions which were adopted: —

"1. As peace alone can secure the moral and material interests of nations, it is the duty of all governments to submit to arbitration all differences that arise between them, and to respect the decisions of the arbitrators whom they may choose.

"2. It is of the highest importance to call the attention of governments to the necessity of entering, by a general and simultaneous measure, upon a system of disarmament, for the purpose of reducing the national expenditure, and of removing at the same time a permanent cause of disquietude and irritation from among the nations.

"3. The Congress recommends all the friends of peace to prepare public opinion in their respective countries for the formation of a Congress of Nations, whose sole object it should be to frame a code of international laws, on just principles, and to constitute a Supreme Court, to which should be submitted all questions relating to the reciprocal rights and duties of nations.

"4. The Congress condemns all loans and taxes intended for the prosecution of wars of ambition and conquest.

"5. The Congress recommends its members to endeavour to eradicate from the minds of all, in their respective countries, both by means of a better education of youth, and by other practical methods, those political prejudices and hereditary hatreds which have so often been the cause of disastrous wars.

"6. The Congress addresses the same invitation to all ministers of religion, whose sacred mission it is to encourage feelings of good-will among men; as well as to the various organs of the press, which exercise so powerful an influence over the progress of civilization.

"7. The Congress earnestly hopes for the improvement of the means of international communication; for the extension of postal reform; for the universal adoption of the same standard of weights, measures, and coinage; and for the multiplication of peace societies, which shall keep up a correspondence with each other.

"8. The Congress decides that the committee be instructed to draw up an address to all nations, embodying the resolutions of the Congress, and that this address shall be presented to the various governments, and that special means be taken to bring it under the attention of the President of the French Republic."

A committee was chosen to carry forward the objects of the Congress after its dissolution, by conducting an extensive correspondence, and devising other measures. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Tocqueville, and his lady, gave a splendid soirée to the members of the Congress, while the government threw open to them all the public works, and caused the great water-works at Versailles to play for them, — an honor generally reserved for sovereigns. A banquet was here given to the American delegates by their English brethren, in the course of which each of the former received from the latter a copy of the New Testament, with a suitable inscription, and friendly congratulations were exchanged.

Are not all these beautiful phenomena propitious signs and tokens of a coming age of peace and righteousness? Our hope and faith rest simply on this fact, — that if such a result is ever to come, it must be preceded and effected by such measures as we have above recorded. The vigorous working and success of these measures, growing, as they do, more serious and imposing, are prospective of that result.

The committee have decided upon holding the next Congress at Frankfort on the Maine.

The American Board of Missions. — The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions celebrated the fortieth anniversary of its organization, on September 11th, at Pittsfield. The facilities of travel, the beauties of the place and season, the hospitalities of the people of the town, and the increasing interest and success of a sacred cause, secured a large attendance. The meetings of the board have, from year to year, a higher importance and significance, as they renew the zeal which has lost the charm of novelty, as they apply the test of experience, and put into exercise more practical wisdom. We always read the reports of the meetings with interest, and have perused several accounts of the last one with satisfaction and hope. We honor the zeal and devotion and self-sacrifice which are enlisted in this work. It is evident that, though many contribute large or trifling amounts to its

funds, its springs are fed by the prayers and labors of a few, who do not suffer the cause to lose ground. Nothing is more difficult than to form a correct opinion as to the actual success of missions to the heathen. The missionaries, for their own encouragement, cannot but look on their fields hopefully, and give the best reports concerning them which facts will warrant, to satisfy their supporters at home. Traders, sailors, and tourists generally give a discouraging view of the actual success of missions, but there is overwhelming evidence that their misconduct has heretofore done more than any other single cause to impede the missionaries.

Some excitement was looked for at the meeting at Pittsfield, from an agitation of the relation of the board to the encouragement of slavery. But the matter was peacefully disposed of. The missions to the Cherokees and Choctaws have admitted slaveholders to church-membership, and have hired slaves to be employed as servants at the stations. A correspondence with them and the Prudential Committee of the Board in Boston has resulted in regarding the admission of church-members as a matter of internal church discipline, in which the committee, not having the power of an ecclesiastical tribunal, leave the churches of the missions to decide upon the evidences of piety. A long and very interesting letter is given from the mission station of the Choctaw nation at Stockbridge. The missionaries say, that for more than a quarter of a century they have been painfully sensible of the difficulties of their position, and of the sad risks of bringing up their children amid the evils of slavery. Under such discouragements, nothing but a devout sense of duty has restrained them from fleeing from their posts and abandoning the work. They have seriously reviewed the whole matter, and give the results. The employment of slave labor by them is thought, at the North, to countenance and encourage a wicked system, to make it more profitable to the slave-owner, and to put it in his power to plead the example of the missionaries to justify or to excuse the system. The accused answer, that they would gladly be relieved from doing any thing to sanction a system, which they now countenance no more than is positively unavoidable. Their position is not understood. The committee in Boston cannot send them now, as they did twenty-five years ago, kind, faithful, and industrious mechanics and farmers from the Eastern States. Their best attempts to procure on the spot *free* help have obtained only the profane, the licentious, the intemperate, and the dishonest, almost to the ruin of two of their schools. The missionaries are often absent on preaching tours of a fortnight, leaving families of twenty or thirty females. Thus they have been compelled to hire slaves, and can find them of excellent character, who regard it as a great privilege to reside with the missionaries. As to the encouragement thus given to the system by its pecuniary gain to slave-owners, the missionaries acknowledge the force of this objection, but urge that the encouragement is not so great as is supposed, and that it bears no comparison with the support which slavery derives from the use of the products of slave labor in the Free States, in England, and elsewhere. It would be more practicable for such free places to dispense with these products, than for the missionaries to have a horse shod, food cooked, or ground tilled, without being compelled to hire slaves. Why should the missionaries alone suffer, while the rest of the world goes without rebuke? Finally, the missionaries say that their whole moral influence

is in opposition to slavery. Here the matter is allowed to rest for the present.

Much harmony and deep devotional feeling were manifested at the meetings of the Board; many brief reports were presented, and there was but little discussion. The Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen presided, and the Rev. Dr. Cox preached one of his characteristic sermons. The great lack of missionary candidates was much lamented; thirty-eight missionaries are needed at this moment, and only five or seven are to be had. There was the usual difference of opinion on such occasions, whether men or money were the more wanted. The best rule in such doubtful cases is, to strive equally and simultaneously for both men and funds. Eleven returned missionaries were present, and there was some suppressed uneasiness at the expense of these home visits for purposes of health and matrimony. It is probable, however, that the interest which the presence and the addresses of these laborers in distant missionary fields communicate to a meeting, and their influence in making real and almost visible the objects of their labor, far more than compensate for the cost of their voyages. The great crisis in the work of missions will be found when the period arrives for relying more upon native laborers in the ministry than upon foreign aid in men or money.

The receipts of the board for the last year were \$254,056. Fifty-five *per cent.* of this whole amount came from the churches in the New England States. Five slave States contributed about two *per cent.* of the amount.

The American Missionary Association. — This Association of Christians holding the same general doctrinal opinions, and having in view the same evangelical labors, as belong to the American Board, held its Third Anniversary in Boston, on September 25th. Its members are dissatisfied with the compromising character of the elder organization, and it recognizes as its peculiar distinctions, that it will receive no impure gifts, no funds from slaveholders, into its treasury, that it will oppose the prevailing sins of an age or nation, that it will admit no slaveholder to communion, nor lay too great stress on theological doctrines or external rites and forms. There was much earnest discussion at this meeting, and we observe that another element of discord came up among these separatists. Some of the members were desirous of having an address from Mrs. Brooks, wife of a missionary to Africa; others successfully opposed the motion, to the offence of the former. We see that one angry member protests against the decision, and withdraws from the Society, because a woman was not allowed to speak.

The Autumnal Convention at Portland, Maine. — Such full and extended reports of the proceedings and speeches at this Convention have been already given in our religious papers, and have been, doubtless, perused by most of our readers, as to leave no occasion for their repetition, at length, by us. This was the Eighth of the Autumnal Conventions which the Unitarian clergy and laity have held in places distant from Boston, where Anniversary Week in the Spring seems to convene its full share of meetings.

A very large number of our brethren were gathered at Portland, on Tuesday, October 9th, the day appointed, and were received with the

kindest hospitalities. Early in the afternoon the strangers and residents who were to compose the Convention assembled in the Park Street Church. Rev. Dr. Thompson of Salem, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, called the meeting to order, and, after it was temporarily organized, the Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth offered prayer, and a committee of five was chosen to nominate officers of the Convention.

William Willis, Esq., of Portland, Chairman *pro tem.*, then announced the intended order and proceedings of the Convention, and was followed by appropriate remarks initiatory to what might follow, from Rev. Drs. Nichols, Gannett, and Parkman, and Rev. Messrs. H. W. Bellows, Waterston, Hedge, and Morison. The session was closed with prayer by Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Fitchburg. The appointed evening service took place in Park Street Church, the sermon being preached by Rev. Alonzo Hill of Worcester. *Text*, Acts xx. 26, 27: *Subject*, "Ministerial Responsibility and Fidelity."

Wednesday, October 10th. The Convention being called to order at 9 o'clock, A. M., prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton, and the following gentlemen were chosen officers, on the nomination of the Committee:—Rev. Dr. Nichols, President, Hon. Robert Rantoul, of Beverly, Rev. F. A. Farley of Brooklyn, John Prentiss, Esq., of Keene, Rev. G. W. Hosmer of Buffalo, and J. W. Foster, Esq., of Portsmouth, Vice-Presidents; Rev. C. Palfrey of Belfast, Me., and Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester, Secretaries.

Hon. Charles S. Daveis, of Portland, one of the Committee of Arrangements, welcomed the brethren, and reviewed some of the religious memorials associated with the place and occasion. Dr. Thompson of Salem then offered a series of resolutions, and invited a perfectly free discussion which might range beyond them. The first resolution that was debated was:—

"*Resolved*, That thorough views and pungent representations of the evil of sin are essential to the religious vitality of our churches and to the establishment of evangelical truth."

Rev. H. W. Bellows commenced the discussion of this resolution, which was followed by Rev. Dr. Hall, Rev. Messrs. Hosmer, and Lincoln of Hampton Falls, Rev. Dr. Furness, Rev. C. C. Shackford, Amos Nourse, M. D., of Bath, Rev. J. Pierpont, and Dr. Parkman, when a recess of an hour took place, and, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Farley, the discussion was resumed by George G. Channing, Rev. Messrs. Jones Very and C. Palfrey, and Rev. Dr. Nichols. The first resolution having passed, the second was offered.

"*Resolved*, That Christianity, as a practical religion, aims at producing a conscious union of the soul with God, and a continual influence of the highest religious truths upon the life; and, with our views of the nature and design of the Gospel, it especially devolves upon us to present these as the aim and effect of our religion, alike in our teaching and our character."

In the course of the discussion on this resolution by Rev. Dr. Gannett and Messrs. Morison and Bellows, the Rev. R. L. Carpenter, of Bridgewater, England, son of the late Dr. Lant Carpenter of Bristol, was introduced, and addressed the meeting with great earnestness and interest.

After prayer by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Portsmouth, the Convention adjourned to attend the collation provided by the ladies in the rotunda of

the Exchange, where a very large assembly was gathered, and made welcome by remarks from Hon. Charles S. Daveis, which were responded to by Rev. Drs. Parkman, Furness, Gannett, and Hall, and Rev. Messrs. Bellows, Hedge, Pierpont, Hale, and Waterston. Not all was solemn here; but genial, happy, and well-sustained cheerfulness prevailed.

In the evening a religious service was held in the First Church (Dr. Nichols's), when a sermon was preached by Rev. J. Weiss of New Bedford. *Text*, Job xvi. 1: *Subject*, "The Nature, Indications, and Means of Inspiration of the Individual Soul."

A conference and prayer-meeting was held early in the morning of Thursday, the 11th, till the Convention reopened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Bellows. The next resolution was then offered for discussion.

"*Resolved*, That it is no less a privilege than a duty to diffuse the knowledge and influence of the Gospel, by the support of Christian churches and Christian missions, and by the cultivation of friendly regards among Christian brethren, whether near or distant."

George W. Warren, Esq., and Albert Fearing, Esq., of Boston, Mr. Fenno, of Augusta, Me., Rev. Messrs. Taggart of Albany, Richardson of Haverhill, and Carpenter of England, offered remarks, and then the two following resolutions were taken up, and discussed by Rev. Messrs. Hale, Bellows, and Judd, till the intermission, and the discussion was continued in the afternoon by J. B. Congdon, Esq., of New Bedford, and Rev. Messrs. Hadley of Portland and Forbes of Bridgewater.

"*Resolved*, That the Gospel addresses itself primarily to the individual conscience and heart; that it seeks to effect the personal renewal and sanctification of its disciples, by revealing and enforcing the law of duty, and by raising the affections to God: but that it also contemplates, as its ultimate earthly result, the regeneration of society and the complete establishment of the kingdom of heaven; and that, in accomplishing this object, it demands the coöperation of all who seek to live its life.

"*Resolved*, That Unitarian Christians, holding fast the great principles of the Reformation, asserting the right and duty of unrestricted inquiry, and believing that the faithful and patient investigation of the Scriptures is necessarily followed by an increase of religious light, are called upon to rejoice whenever through these means their opinions are corrected, and their apprehension of the principles and doctrines of Christianity is improved; and that they hail with equal pleasure every indication of progress in other denominations towards a more perfect theology; since thereby the hope is encouraged of an approaching union of all Christians in 'the truth as it is in Jesus Christ,' and in 'the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.'"

The next resolution was as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That we remember with gratitude and encouragement the pure lives and peaceful deaths of the ministers who, during the past year, have been removed from us."

This resolution was adopted by the Convention, all rising, after remarks by Rev. Drs. Parkman, Thompson, and Nichols, and Messrs. Hale and Hill of Worcester, and Brigham of Taunton.

Rev. Dr. Gannett then took up the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That while we would be grateful to God for the exalted privileges of our position in the Church of Christ, it becomes us to be humble in view of the little we have done, as contrasted with our opportunities, for

establishing his kingdom in our hearts and extending it in the world; that we see the necessity of new and more devoted efforts for awakening the life of religion in our churches. For these efforts we trust that in our mutual counsels here, and our united prayers to God, we have obtained 'grace to keep us,' and that spirit of Christian holiness without which we must for ever labor in vain."

After its passage, thanks were voted to the President of the Convention, and to the friends in Portland, with remarks from Drs. Thompson and Nichols, and Rev. Messrs. Cutler and Judd.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Committee of Arrangements for the next Autumnal Convention: Rev. Messrs. Calvin Lincoln, Edward E. Hale, and Charles Brigham, William Willis, Esq., and J. F. Flagg, M. D. After prayer by Dr. Nichols, the Convention closed.

Religious services were again held in the evening. Rev. Mr. Hosmer preached. *Text*, Luke xii. 50, and 2 Cor. ii. 16: *Subject*, "The Burden of Life, and how it is to be borne." The Lord's Supper was then administered by Rev. Dr. Gannett and Rev. Mr. Waterston.

This closed one of the most protracted, serious, and comprehensive in its subjects of discussion, of all our Conventions. Who can trace the workings of its influence in human hearts and minds?

The Religious Newspaper Press.—Any person who, from inclination or from a sense of professional duty, is in the habit of reading the "religious newspapers," so called, finds in them matter which leads him constantly to balance their good and evil influences. That so many large sheets can be covered each week without involving some degrees of error, mischief, and unkindness could scarcely be expected by any reasonable person. That they must contain much of a crude and superficial character might be safely pronounced by those who had never read one of them. Though painfully sensible of these defects, we feel perfectly satisfied that the good which is in them outweighs the bad. Those of us who are surrounded, even to annoyance, with the products of the press, cannot appreciate the value and the interest which a weekly religious paper has to those who reside in quiet towns and villages, and to even more secluded persons, whose days are passed in scattered country dwellings. In such places it is prized at its full worth.

A controversy has lately been going on between Mr. Morse of "The New York Observer," and Mr. Willis, late proprietor of "The Boston Recorder," both of whom claim to have originated the latter paper. The controversy became very angry before it was closed, though it was thought to involve, as an honor worth contesting, the credit of having undertaken the first religious paper in this country, if not in the world. But while the dispute was in progress, two or three other rival claimants, in other parts of the country, assumed to have issued such papers at an earlier period than the date of the commencement of the Recorder.

We look to our numerous papers, and not without reason, that they will do much towards softening and neutralizing sectarian bitterness. When it became the fashion for each religious denomination to establish a paper in support of its own peculiarities, many good men, who stood aloof from sectarian strife, feared that these mutually hostile and rival

organs would mingle acrimony with our differences and increase them, would alienate and inflame feelings, would multiply and enlarge our divisions, and render the possibility of harmony more distant. There really was reason for these apprehensions, and many bitter fruits were actually engendered. But the danger and the evil have been of late greatly relieved by a most singular instrumentality, by a most unlooked-for, yet effective, agency, whose workings it is equally instructive and amusing to watch. When each sect had its own religious newspaper, matter for controversy was found chiefly by each denomination with other denominations. Now most of our large sects have more than one paper in each of our large cities, and each rival enterprise of publisher and editor represents a schism in each of these sects. Between these schisms of their own sects controversy is now, to a great extent, waged. Attention, interest, and strife are withdrawn, in good part, from opposing denominations, and are found in the religious papers to be given to the dissensions, the subdivisions of opinion, or the conscientious differences of those who are gathered in the same fold. Either doctrinal views, or philanthropic sympathies, or philosophical tendencies, make themselves so important and conspicuous as causes of difference in the large denominations, that new papers are started to express them. Great heretics now enjoy rest, if not in the fold.

"The Boston Recorder" was, for a long time, the only Calvinistic paper in this city and State. Then "The New England Puritan" commenced a rivalry with it, not wholly peaceful or kindly. Next "The Boston Reporter" presented its claims, founded on reasons of difference. Very lately the Recorder and the Puritan joined their titles and their subscription lists. Yet another party was started in the same Calvinistic fold, and a new paper, under the name of "The Congregationalist," has ingulphed the Reporter. The Congregationalist is a spirited paper, for the most part mild and generous in its tone, and conducted with great ability by several of the liberal-minded ministers of its denomination.

The same denomination in New York has long supported two large weekly religious papers, "The Evangelist" and "The Observer," which represented two parties founded chiefly on differences of opinion and method concerning philanthropic subjects. But now, and for nearly a year, there has come to us from the Calvinistic body in New York "The Independent," a noble paper, earnest, candid, and enterprising, whose large and well-filled columns we should greatly miss on the Sabbath if the paper failed us. There are many sharp shots in this paper which are not aimed at us. We hope we are innocent in watching their effect. Even the Roman Catholics have their rival newspapers, which find matters of difference among themselves, and so far spare others.

But the Episcopal papers exceed all others for the fierceness of their mutual assaults, and the number and the bitterness of their matters of strife. Let the following instances, the last of hundreds which we have noticed, show how brethren of one fold, and that *the* fold, may differ.

"The Christian Witness," which is as yet the only paper devoted to the Episcopal denomination in Boston, recently brought a complaint against the American Tract Society. This society, says the Witness, embraces members "of several Evangelical denominations, who are united together on certain general principles. Among them, of course, is the mutual understanding, without which the society would at once fall to pieces, that nothing is to be published prejudicial to the faith or interests

of any one of the contracting parties." "The American Messenger," which is said to have a circulation of one hundred thousand copies, is the organ of the Tract Society. The Christian Witness accused the Messenger of violating neutrality by publishing an article highly prejudicial to the interests of *the Church*. The complaint was strongly urged, and the Messenger, being put on the defensive, will be generally allowed to have come off unharmed, as it shows that the article complained of "originally appeared in an Episcopal paper, and was written by an Episcopal minister"!

But the contents of all the other papers which express the peculiar phases of the different denominations are of the very essence of meekness and gentleness when compared with what may be found in the contentious columns of "The Calendar," "The Churchman," "The Protestant Churchman," and "The Episcopal Recorder," all of which belong to the Episcopal denomination. Their mutual abuse and jealousies are so fierce and angry, as to amount to an absolute scandal on the cause of sobriety and good neighbourhood, to say nothing of religion. The only gleam of hope that shines on the matter is, that no one layman or woman sees the whole four papers. Ministers can understand their strifes, and allow for them without losing their faith, — as all lay people cannot. "The Calendar" has long been mourning over the *Romanizing tendency* of the New York General Episcopal Theological Seminary. In its sheet for August 25th, it describes some of the pupils of the seminary as "lackadaisical youths in cassocks that sweep the sidewalks, devoting themselves to filigree work and embroidery, and bewailing worldliness in drawing-rooms"; and again, as "the merest foplings of divinity undertaking to prate of the keys, and to assume the position of penitentiaries," — rather a trying position, we should think. "The Protestant Churchman" sustains the charges, and "The Churchman" indignantly repels them. But we should do injustice, perhaps, to both these last-named papers, if we were to quote a specimen of their scandalous contention, unless we explained the way in which, for a series of years, they have been mutually exciting each other. We do not find in such facts proofs of the old adage, that "the nearer Christians agree, the worse they contend." Some one word in that, as in many other adages, is certainly wrong; but whether in this case it be the word *Christian*, or the word *agree*, we will not undertake to decide, though we cannot help a misgiving, that those who contend so sharply, supposing them to be Christians, do not *agree* very nearly together. Such strifes, however, look worse to spectators from the outside, than to those who engage in them: but these should remember that those are looking on.

Now, that the bitterness and mutual misunderstanding between the different denominations are relieved in a measure by these household contentions may seem to some a strange assertion, but it is strictly true. Those who cannot agree among themselves cannot require agreement of others with them; they have also less time and thought to devote to others; they are made to realize the perplexities of truth, and the independence of opinion, while their discords choke that earnest utterance of deep conviction which alone can be the warrant for censuring or warning heretics.

We are relieved of the obligation to apply our remarks to our own religious papers, because we have but two, and because they both allow

such a wide and free range of opinions and judgments, as to preclude the necessity of rivalry and opposition. "The New York Inquirer" is now established on a most satisfactory basis, both as regards its editorial and its financial arrangements. We may well be proud of its high religious and literary character, and of that union of scholarship, fervor, brilliancy, and industry, in obtaining interesting information, of which its weekly sheet gives evidence. It certainly cannot be accused of making an idol of consistency, or of allowing the merits of only one side of a controversy to appear. It is generous, catholic, and devotional. Its conductors have set before themselves their own high standard, and we hope they may keep up to it, for they cannot exceed it.

Our own "Christian Register" has taken many of its readers by surprise in announcing the names of the Rev. J. H. Morison, the Rev. A. P. Peabody, the Rev. E. Peabody, and the Rev. F. D. Huntington, as its four editors. The Rev. N. S. Folsom having for more than two years conducted the paper with great ability and judgment, as his scholarship and experience made him well qualified to do, and having written during that time the whole editorial matter, has left this neighbourhood to assume the offices of pastor and professor at Meadville, where we wish for him the highest success. We may safely say, that the Christian Register is now in competent hands, and that the editors will find it no easy task to fulfil the expectations of our community from a paper which bears those four names.

Ordinations. — MR. FISKE BARRETT, a member of the last graduating class of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained Pastor of the First Church in Lexington, September 5, 1849. The Introductory Prayer was by the brother of the candidate, Rev. S. Barrett, D. D., of Boston. Selections from Scripture were read by Rev. James F. Brown, of West Cambridge. Sermon by Rev. Chandler Robbins, of Boston. Prayer of Ordination by Rev. Professor Noyes, of Cambridge. Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Augustus Woodbury, of Concord, N. H. Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Robinson, of Medfield.

MR. OLIVER J. FERNALD, of the class of 1847 of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as an Evangelist at Thomaston, Me., September 14, 1849. Introductory Prayer and Selections from Scripture, by Rev. Mr. Cutler, of Portland, Me. Sermon by Rev. F. H. Hedge, of Bangor, Me. Prayer of Ordination by Rev. Cazneau Palfrey, of Belfast, Me. Charge by Rev. Mr. Wheeler, of Topsham, Me. Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. G. R. Reynolds, of Jamaica Plain. Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Wheeler.

Installation. — REV. SAMUEL OSGOOD, late Pastor of the Westminster Congregational Church, in Providence, R. I., was installed as Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York, on Wednesday evening, Oct. 3, 1849. Rev. Dr. Putnam, of Roxbury, offered the Introductory Prayer. Rev. F. A. Farley, of Brooklyn, L. I., read Selections from Scripture. Rev. Dr. Dewey preached the Sermon. Rev. Dr. Gannett, of Boston, offered the Prayer of Installation. Rev. Dr. Hall, of Providence, R. I., gave the Charge. Rev. H. W. Bellows, of New York, gave the Fellowship of the Churches; and the Rev. F. D. Huntington, of Boston, offered the Concluding Prayer.

Dedication.—The Chapel erected at Bridgeport, Ct., by Madame Van Polanen, was dedicated to the worship of the One God, through Jesus Christ, on Thursday afternoon, October 4, 1849. Introductory Prayer by Rev. H. W. Bellows, of New York. Selections from Scripture by Rev. J. Richardson, of Haverhill. Prayer of Dedication by Rev. Dr. Gannett, of Boston. Sermon by Rev. F. A. Farley, of Brooklyn, L. I. Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dr. Parkman, of Boston.

Services were likewise held in the new chapel in the evening, when a sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Dewey. After these services were closed, measures were taken to organize a society which should meet for public worship, from Sabbath to Sabbath, in the temple just consecrated. As was expected, but a very small number of persons were ready to enlist in a movement which bears with it so many prejudices in Connecticut. But enough were found to encourage a strong faith, and we hope the pious undertaking may be prospered.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Bishop Chase on "A Notable Corruption of Scripture."—In the article on the History of the Bible Society, on a previous page, reference is made to a most remarkable publication by Bishop Chase, of Illinois, the presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States. He entitles his piece, "A Notable Corruption of the Bible," and he begins it by a very just, but for the occasion most unfortunate, reference to "the duty of the Bishops, as conservators of the truth, to keep the Holy Scriptures free from corruption." Now, had we space, it might be a fruitful theme, not for angry strife, but for kindly rivalry, to inquire whether "the Bishops" or the Dissenting divines have shown themselves the more zealous, the more laborious, and the more learned in scholarly and pious efforts to guard the purity of the Scriptures, to authenticate their records, and to defend and illustrate their authority. Had this pious task been left entirely to the divines of the Church of England, as the only class of Protestants who might undertake it, what scholar does not know that the world would have lost a very large proportion of its most precious contributions to Biblical literature? Indeed, overwhelming evidence might be adduced to prove that the Dissenters, so called, acting from a deep sense of their responsibility in this matter, have accomplished far more towards fulfilling it than have "the Bishops and their clergy." *Dissent* began in Biblical study, and has ever since vindicated itself by unanswerable arguments drawn from the Bible. The greatest Biblical scholars on the Continent of Europe, and in America, have always been Dissenters. Nearly all the vernacular translations of the Scriptures by Protestants have been made by Dissenters. Our own version owed its origin to a Puritan, and Puritan scholars made a large proportion of the body of its translators. The most famous Orientalists in England have been found among the Puritans and Dissenters. The most effective vindications of the Scriptures against infidelity have come largely from the same sources. Even the Concordance, which saves all preachers so much labor, came from the pen of one educated among Dissenters. Who, that is competent to pronounce an opinion on the facts of the case, is not well aware that

the works of the persecuted and non-conforming ministers, of such men as Owen, and Baxter, and Bunyan, and Watts, and Doddridge, have done far more to kindle and to keep alive the flame of piety in the hearts of the multitude of men, women, and children in England, than have any works which have issued from the favored Church Establishment! What popular devotional or practical religious work from the pen of an English bishop or priest — saving, perhaps, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* — can be named as rivalling the influence of a volume from one of the authors just mentioned? The Dissenters have not failed in their duty to the cause of popular religion, and we think that they have been equally faithful and successful in the performance of that duty which Bishop Chase regards as the peculiar obligation of "the Bishops." We would not be unmindful of the generous devotion and the noble fruits of the pious labors of English Episcopal divines, given to the Scriptures. Some of them have been faithful; but we cannot forget that the most scholarlike and pious among them have been those who have laid the least stress upon their prelatial claims, and have made the least extravagant demands for Episcopacy. Nor can we, writing in a library from whose walls piety and learning address us with so many touching memorials of suffering and of toil, forget what Biblical and Gospel literature owe to the untitled and unbeneficed clergy of Dissent.

But let us look at that "notable corruption" which Bishop Chase charges upon Cromwell and the Independents.

The beginning of the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles records an incident of great interest in the early history of the Christian Church. Many converts to the new and despised faith were impoverished by the loss of their former ways and means for obtaining a livelihood. As a beautiful token of the spirit of our faith, which has ever since been manifested as occasion called for it, though the custom was then new to the world, a common charity fund was collected, and from this the Christian poor were aided by distribution made by the Apostles on the first day of the week, — the Lord's day. The work of dispensing food or money, or both, soon became burdensome, and a jealousy arose, that the poor converts from among the Gentiles did not receive as much as did the poor converts from among the Israelites. To rid themselves of this burden and jealousy, the twelve Apostles suggested that it was "not reasonable that they should leave the word of God, and serve tables." They therefore asked "the multitude of the disciples," to select seven proper men from among themselves, "whom WE may appoint over this business." The word WE is thus distinguished in our types, because of Bishop Chase's charge: the importance of that word will soon appear. The Apostles desired that these seven men might be selected, in order that they themselves might be relieved of serving tables, and might give themselves "continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word." The result was, that the seven men were chosen, who were called "*Deacons*." These were the first persons so named in the Christian Church. "The multitude of the disciples" selected them, and the Apostles, as was proper, formally transferred to them the office of tending on the charity-tables, which they had heretofore regarded as their own duty.

Now, the strong ground which the "Dissenters" occupy in this passage Bishop Chase wholly overlooks; he does not for a moment

advert to it. We urge that the office of a *deacon*, as herein described, agrees perfectly with the nature and functions of that office in an Independent or Congregational Church. The agreement is complete. The deacons "serve tables," which the first deacons were expressly chosen to do. But in the Episcopal Church, the deacon is a preacher, an inferior clergyman, and the very thing he may not do is to "serve tables," for he cannot take a part in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The Episcopal deacon performs the work of praying and preaching, which the Apostles wished to disencumber by instituting for another purpose the office of deacon. Which functionary comes nearer to the Apostolic description of a *deacon*, the officer who bears that name in our New England churches, or the young preacher among the Episcopalians? The Episcopalians attempt to evade this argument by proving that some of the first seven deacons became preachers and exhorters. This is not to the point. So did many of "the multitude of the disciples" become preachers without having been deacons. So do many New England deacons become exhorters. The very qualities of zeal and devotion and a good report, which led to the selection of the first *deacons*, would naturally make them exhorters. The point, however, is, not what they did afterwards and besides serving tables, but what they did *as deacons*; what they were chosen to do *as deacons*. In the answer to that question lies the Apostolic idea of the office of a deacon. We submit that that idea, if it does not exclude, certainly does not necessarily include, the function of public praying and preaching, — the ministry of the word, — nor does it suggest the image of a young man taking orders, entering the lowest grade of the ministry preparatory to rising by successive steps to the priesthood and a bishopric. The Apostolic idea of the office of a deacon rather calls up to our minds the image of a man somewhat advanced in years, well acquainted with the members of a Christian congregation, especially with the poor among them, to whom he distributes Christian charity, while he also "serves tables."

Neglecting, however, all reference to this view and use of the passage of Apostolic history, Bishop Chase opens another issue. It appears that when the disciples at large had selected the deacons, (which word in the original Greek means, literally, *servants who tend on tables*,) they were instituted into office by the Apostles. The theory of Episcopacy is, that Bishops are official successors of the Apostles, and have the exclusive right of ordaining candidates for the first grade in the ministry, who, when ordained, are called *deacons*, till they become *priests*. Bishops claim this right, because the Apostles claimed it, as they said to the disciples, "Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom WE may appoint over this business," namely, of serving tables. So important is the little word WE in this sentence. The Bishop knows that the Puritans do not allow that the prelates are the exclusive official successors of the Apostles, and that among *Dissenters* the ministers are ordained by other ministers and by their own churches, that is, as prelacy declares, by mere laymen. Not having actual Apostles among us, we of course cannot avail ourselves of their consecrating hands, as we should be glad to do.

The ground of the Bishop's complaint is, that the Dissenters made "a notable corruption" of Scripture in order to sustain their heresy. His own words are, that

"In the time of Oliver Cromwell, who had put down both Bishops and Presbyters in the Church of Christ, there was published from the British press an edition of the Bible, *apparently* a true copy, but containing one remarkable corruption, changing the word WE into the word YE in the verse above quoted. No remonstrance was made, for none *could* be made, against the corruption so stealthily introduced to serve the purposes of those who opposed both the Episcopal and Presbyterial pretensions to authority in divine things pertaining to the Church. What a sore in the eyes of Cromwell and his friends, the Independents, was the word WE in this all-important text ! It implied the exercise of a power given unto the Apostles by the great Head of the Church, commanding them (not the brethren at large) to ordain or appoint the ministers. This did not suit the newly adopted creed and practice of the ruling party. Cromwell, seeing this, authorized his friends to change the word WE into the word YE. 'YE,' the brethren, 'may appoint.' A most notable corruption, over which the faithful ministers might weep and complain in secret, at their leisure, but which none had the power publicly to correct."

The writer of the article on the American Bible Society, on our previous pages, furnished in the Boston Daily Advertiser of 12th July, 1849, an exposure of the gross errors into which Bishop Chase has fallen in the above paragraph, and in his subsequent statements. It is enough to say, in answer to the above charge, that Cromwell had nothing to do with *the mere accidental error of the press* above referred to, for it does not occur in a single edition of the Bible printed while Cromwell was in power. The error first appeared in an edition of the Bible printed at Cambridge, England, in 1638, when Charles the First and his Archbishop Laud were in full authority, and the error did not appear for the second time till the year of the restoration of Charles the Second, 1660, more than a year after Cromwell's death. So much for Bishop Chase's first and most absurd attempt to fix on Cromwell an artifice of which he was wholly innocent. One can scarce restrain a smile at what must be the learned Bishop's confusion of face.

Passing over the next two statements of the Bishop, the errors and confusion of dates contained in which are fully exposed in the learned newspaper communication to which we have referred, we have space to state only one more of the Bishop's points. He says, "Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Massachusetts Bay, printed the first Bible ever published in America; and the same, containing this notable corruption, was circulated throughout New England; and agreeing, as it does, with the imported copies of Cromwell's edition, was thought to be authentic."

The writer in the Advertiser replies to these specifications, that "Thomas did not print the first Bible in America. An edition for the Indians was printed at Cambridge, and three editions for the Germans were printed at Germantown, before any English Bible was printed in America; the first English Bible being printed by Robert Aitkin, Philadelphia, in 1782, and *containing the verse in question correctly printed*. Thomas's first Bible was printed at Worcester, in 1792, and *this also contains a correct rendering of the verse*."

Indeed it would be difficult to put into the same compass more errors than are to be found in Bishop Chase's paragraphs. In all kindness we cannot but say, that the Bishop's piece is singularly unfortunate as an attempt to recommend to his brother prelates their duty as "conservators of the truth."

There are other remarkable errors in the Bishop's piece, independent of this most unfortunate use of a mere typographical mistake in a text of Scripture. For instance, the Bishop says, that "Dean Berkeley frequently visited Yale College," — which he never did; that "Dr. Cutler was its first President," — which he was not; that "Dr. Johnson was its first Professor," — which he was not; that the Dean "gave a sum of money, the interest of which was to be applied in bestowing a gold medal upon the best Greek scholar," — which he did not, as he gave no money, made no provision for a gold medal, and did not offer any reward merely to the best Greek scholar. After his return to England, the Dean sent a deed of his farm in Rhode Island to Yale College, the rents of which were to be divided between the best three classical scholars in each graduating class, on condition that they resided at the College at least nine months out of the three successive years. The Bishop also says, that the Dean gave his library to the College, and that on its reception the fact leaked out, that several of the officers had become Episcopalians, whereas these officers had become Episcopalians more than ten years before the Dean sent a donation of books from England to the College. These, however, are small matters, compared with the aspersion upon Cromwell.

Since the above was written, we have seen "The Motto of Jubilee College," for September 20, 1849, in which Bishop Chase replies to the communication of "G. L." in the Boston Daily Advertiser. This reply is, without exception, the most remarkable document that has ever fallen under our notice. The Bishop says in it, that he is an old man of seventy-three years. That announcement, together with his general repute for Christian excellence and devotion, restrains our pen from writing of his course in this matter as we might, if we yielded only to a reasonable feeling. We will add but a few words to explain the nature of his reply. He had charged upon Cromwell the intentional corruption of Scripture. It is proved that the alleged corruption was merely an error of the press, with which Cromwell was no more concerned than Bishop Chase himself, it having appeared before Cromwell was in power, it having disappeared while he was in power, and it having reappeared after his death. Now, instead of candidly admitting his error, the Bishop makes a reply, more than two thirds of which is wholly and even absurdly irrelevant to the matter, and as for the rest, he maintains that he has done no *new* injury to the character of Cromwell, and that he has as good a right to speak severely of him as to speak severely of Nebuchadnezzar and Mohammed. We make the following extracts from the astounding statements of the Bishop, and leave them to be judged of by our readers.

"As to the person or persons by whom the alteration was made in the *printed* Bible, there may be different opinions. Some persons in the interest of the party disaffected might have done it even at Oxford, in the time of Laud. It was discovered and corrected as a typographical error; but by whom? By Cromwell and his friends? No; Cromwell never corrected an error which so much favored his designs and his own deeds; or if he did condemn the corruption with his mouth, his character justifies us in believing that he rejoiced in his heart that it was made, and acted accordingly, as he did in a similar case in the murder of his king. No comment is necessary in order to justify what Bishop Chase has said of him, in regard to the text of Scripture in

question. If he did not originate the corruption, he assented to it when made, or found [it?] to have been made, which, perhaps, suited his purposes better."

There! Let any other "conservator of the truth" match this reasoning if he can. Conservator of the truth! Heaven help the mark!

Now the most significant fact in reference to this whole matter is, that the Congregationalists and Independents are not in the least degree troubled with the true word WE in the text of Scripture. It is not denied that the Apostles administered the Christian Church while they lived. The fundamental question is, whether those who are technically called "Bishops" succeed to full Apostolic authority over all Christian ministers?

Lowell Institute.—Arrangements have been made for the delivery of the following courses of Lectures this season, before the Lowell Institute:—

1. On the Progress of Organization among Plants; by Professor Wm. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin.
 2. On Natural Religion; by Alonzo Potter, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.
 3. On Heat and Light; by Professor Edward Lasell, of Williams College.
 4. On the History of the Federal Constitution; by George Ticknor Curtis, Esq.
 5. On Agricultural Chemistry; by Professor James F. W. Johnston, of England.
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Harvard University.—All the departments of this institution are now in a flourishing condition. The new class of undergraduates is unusually large. Such arrangements have been made as will relieve President Sparks of many of those petty tasks and details of parietal management, which have of late visited upon the presidential office too great an amount of care and annoyance. The Law School has its full complement of professors and lecturers, and is resorted to by students from the whole extent of our country. The same is true of the Medical School, though this has more rival institutions. Some impatience has been felt and expressed in the community, to have the Scientific School made at once effective in offering its helps for the instruction of pupils in practical science. The difficulty of obtaining competent persons in this department, with the limited means which are within the ability of the Corporation to offer, is very great. The salary of a professorship here is but a small compensation, compared with what a man of practical science can secure from the exercise of his skill where it is called for in some of the great works now in progress through the country. The appointment of Mr. Henry L. Eustis as Professor of Engineering has given pleasure to the friends of the Lawrence Scientific School.

The Divinity School still crowds all its tasks of instruction upon its two professors, who do their utmost to sustain the burden. The new class consists of ten young men, five of whom are graduates of the College. An organ has lately been procured for the chapel in Divinity Hall, which adds to the enjoyment of religious services there. Any friend of the School will do it a valuable kindness by bestowing means for the purchase of new volumes for the library.

OBITUARY.

THE REV. HENRY COLMAN.

The tidings of the death of this distinguished man were received by his friends among us with equal surprise and sadness. No one had warmer friends than he, and his own kindly disposition and energetic character had brought him into connection with a very extensive circle.

Mr. Colman was born in Boston, September 12, 1785. Receiving here his early education, he was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1805, and pursued the study of divinity with the late Dr. Pierce, of Brookline. He was ordained June 17, 1807, at the age of twenty-two, as pastor of a newly gathered Congregational church in Hingham, and at once identified himself with the Liberal party in the division which sundered the Congregational body in this Commonwealth. His circumstances compelled him to connect the instruction of pupils with his ministerial office, to the detriment of his health, which caused him finally to resign his parish, March 17, 1820, and to remove to Boston, where he pursued the employment of teaching, while he officiated from week to week in vacant pulpits. After having received and declined several invitations to become the pastor of churches near and at a distance, he again settled in the ministry, over a society formed for him at Salem, under the name of the Barton Square Independent Congregational Society. He was installed February 16, 1825, and retained his office until December 7, 1831. Consumptive symptoms had induced him to engage in agricultural labors, and, after he ceased to be a pastor, he devoted himself with much zeal and enthusiasm to these healthful pursuits, by carrying on an extensive farm at Deerfield, on the Connecticut meadows. This led to his employment by the Legislature on an Agricultural Survey of the State. His official reports in that capacity were of the highest value, and gave him an extensive reputation. After having edited for a time the "*Genesee Farmer*," he went on an agricultural mission to England and the Continent, in 1842. The fruits of his labors have been noticed in our pages. He returned home last fall with health impaired by exhausting employments, and with the hope of restoring it, and in discharge of a new commission, he soon made another voyage to England. Amid the kindest attentions and alleviations which devoted friendship could supply, though still among strangers, so called, he died, after a brief illness, of typhus, at Islington, near London, August 14, 1849.

Our remembrances of him are respectful, cheerful, and affectionate. His peculiarities, if he had any, were harmless, his tastes were pure, and his zeal and readiness to do kind actions were very prominent traits in his character. He was an effective preacher, and a man of a great versatility of gifts.

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
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CAMBRIDGE: METCALF AND COMPANY, PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

